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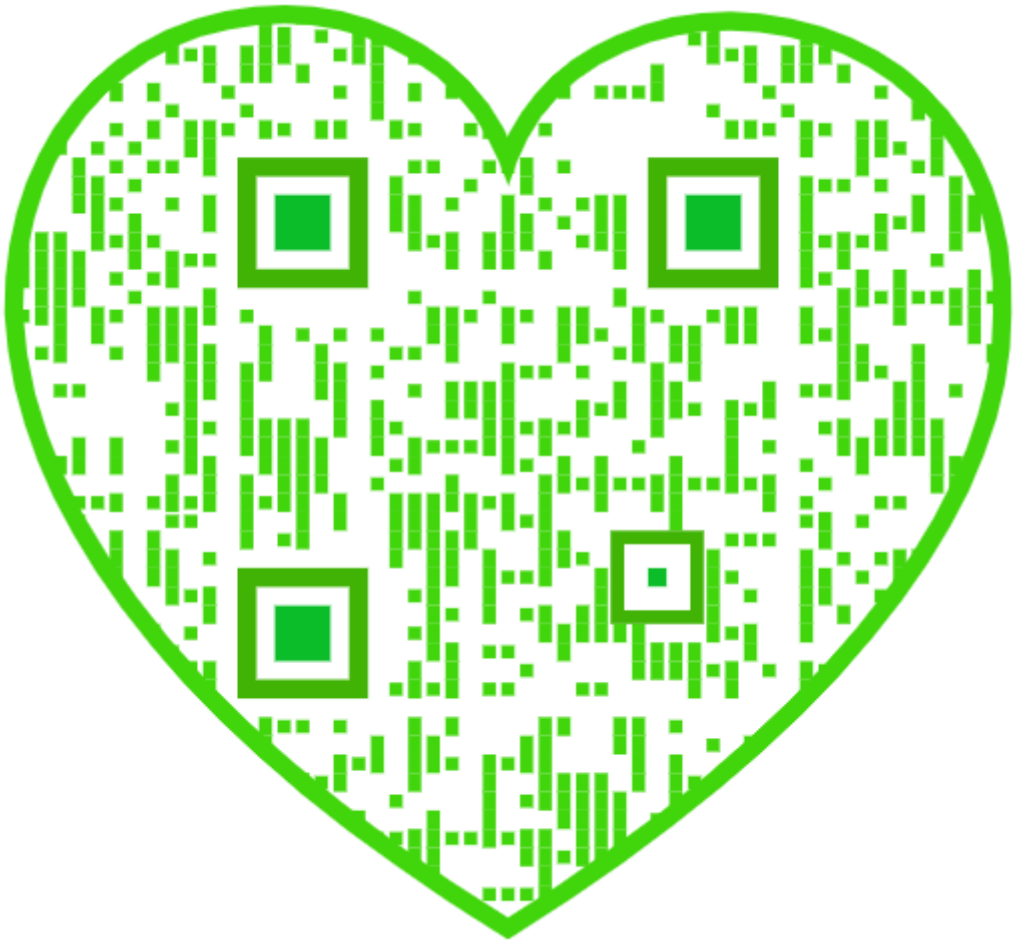

PRINCIPLES

—OF—

Moral and Political

ECONOMY

—OR—

THE REPUBLIC BESIEGED

—BY A—

Grand Sitting Army

—OF—

2,225,000 MEN.

—BY—

O. D. JONES.

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PRINCIPLES

—OF—

MORAL AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE PAST A FAILURE.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE PRESENT AN EXPERIMENT!

ITS SAFETY IS IN OBEDIENCE TO THE COMMAND:

"DO UNTO OTHERS AS YE WOULD THAT THEY SHOULD DO UNTO YOU."

BY

O. D. JONES,

OF EDINA, MO.

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PREFACE.

The need of a work on this subject, not written to sustain the interests of a class, is the only reason, if one need be given, for this attempt. All the works examined on the subject treat only of "political economy" or "moral philosophy." We have these *ad infinitum*—economys of "supply and demand," "debt and credit," but in the main of debt. The above title is chosen for the reason that in all the works examined, the two subjects have been studiously divorced, and for the self-evident fact, that the "political economy" of the old schools is bereft all humane or moral sentiment. In a true sense no "economy" is politic that is not moral, or any *moral* that is not political. In many instances we have strayed so far from fundamental and just principles, we seem as a nation, to have lost moral perception and the points of the moral compass. We ask all earnest, patriotic right thinking persons to go to the sun dial of the moral and political world and then let us as citizens take our moral and political reckoning. Let us apply to ourselves, the only safe rule of human conduct, in all ages, climes and conditions of life, the rule laid down in the twelve words: "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." To show that this rule is the underlying principle of our social compact and constitution and the only enduring rule of conduct that can preserve society and civilization in a dense population, is the aim in this little work. That rule is the only one that can act as a lubricant and prevent heating, at the centers of population amid the friction of multiplied clashing pressed and compressed interests. The intelligent reader of history must have observed that all types and degrees of civilization in all ages, have only endured, until a certain State of development and density of population was reached; and then the dissolute, immoral and oppressive conduct of one class resting and grinding upon another by the friction of clashing interests caused the whole fabric to ignite and burn, with civil strife and commotion to its own destruction. So it was with Chaldean, Persian, Medo Persian, Greek and Roman civilization.

Christian civilization is just now going into the crucible test of dense population—that is the test of a nation's morality. The material question, with modern Christian civilization—at its centers is, not how wide shall its national boundaries be, but *how full* can it fill them. The era of conquest and acquisition of territory has passed, the era of filling up has come. The history of the nations of antiquity shows, that while they had room to extend their territory, they prospered after a fashion. But when that era passed and

they were confined to their own territories and the day of a dense population came; then it was, that a test was made of their morality; then it was they "were weighed in the balances and found wanting." Like causes, under like circumstances in all ages, climes and conditions, produce like effects. Human nature is always the same in the aggregate. All we have better than the nations and civilization of the past is, the morality of our Christianity (or our morality in the abstract) that leads us, in a measure, at least, "to do to others as we would, that they should do to us."

As our populations become more and more dense, the nearer are we compelled, as nations, to approach that standard of "Righteousness," or suffer the consequences. It is no matter of choice, it is one of absolute law and dire necessity.

OUR SUBJECT:

Principles of Moral and Political Economy.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.

1. Principles are eternal; they are God's thoughts, to those of us who believe in Him. They indicate to all of us the right way of doing. We speak of a law of nature, as that of gravitation; we speak of a *principle* of human action or conduct. A principle is a general rule deduced from a series or group of laws; it is more general and used both in the realms of mind and matter.

A right principle indicates a right course of conduct, and he who attempts to accomplish even a right purpose in violation of established principles will fail.

It is like an attempt to sail against wind, current and tide. In a true sense there is but one great principle underlying and governing human conduct, as to our relations to each other, and that is embodied in the word, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you." But there are numerous relations and situations in which this principle must be applied. There are many rules of conduct it enforces in particular relations. Here it is only possible to formulate these rules, in some of the more important social, property and political relations of life.

2. Moral! is from the latin word *moralis*, *mos—mories*—meaning *manner* or *custom*. It is now used to denote the aspect of

human conduct as inherently by right or wrong. A moral economy means an honest, a just, a right economy—doing to others as we would that they should do to us, in determining between *mine* and *thine*.

3. Political! This is a much abused word. As used by the masses of the people of this country it means little more than "party." Politic, from which it is derived, is a Greek word, meaning citizen, and relates to his and the States correlative duties and the science of the government of men in a state of society. Political economy deals with our material interests and all moral questions necessarily involved. To attempt to separately discuss them would be like an attempt to discuss the subject of the circulation of the blood without reference to the organs of the circulatory system. For all intelligent human action is governed by motives; and *moral*, or motives of *right* and wrong color every human action in life and especially, every *course* of conduct.

4. Economy! The word is composed of two Greek ones that mean "house" and "rule" or "law;" or, we might put it the "law of the house;" in its modern sense it is applied to money and material affairs and its sense is now widened to include national and financial affairs in these respects. It is now used in the discussion of nearly all fiscal relations, always having a sense like rule or system, or facts reduced to order and science. In that sense it indicates a subject of great and daily growing importance. It must engage the most solicitous thought of the statesman and philanthropist alike. It pertains primarily to material things. It has another, a more important aspect; viewed alone from that standpoint it presents a half, a distorted, a superficial view.

In this life, we are a connecting link between two worlds, the worlds of mind and matter. Our being is a compound of both and our field of action reaches into the confines of both. All our greatest interests are so interwoven, in the texture, the warp and woof of both realms, it is impossible to ravel the fabric and pursue the thread of any one great human interest without crossing and recrossing the line. A treatise of the mere moral or material side of these questions, presents either, in a distorted view. It is the intermingling of the moral and material interests that make the sum total of what we call "political economy."

Society! The body, the entity, to which we address our thought, from which we deduce and for which we formulate our general rules of conduct, is society.

The word, in its primary sense, is from the latin word "socious" meaning "a companion." In that sense, it is an aggregation of human beings remaining together from choice. In that sense there might be society without civilization. But the word is only used by and applied to civilized men. If we are the offspring of an intelligent Father and Creator, He intended we should be civilized, and it is of his appointment. He is grieved at the savage state of any of our race, at least as much as we would be, at beholding any of

our offspring in sueh a condition. If, then, civilization is of His appointment and desirable; if it can be maintained only by obedience to certain laws as history and observation teach, and our subject leads us to seek for and determine, if we may, those rules of conduct, to what more exalted subject could our thoughts be addressed?

CHAPTER II.

NATIONALITIES VIEWED FROM WITHOUT.

A cursry view of society shows it divided into sovereignties, states and nations. Our race is clanish. It has descended from families, and short-sighted selfishness, in all ages, has lead fractions of it to set up boundary lines as the horizon of all political good. Over the establishment of these lines, half the wars of the past have been waged and half the energies of the nations wasted. But to take the race as we find it thus far in our history, political nationalities have been a condition precedent to civilization. Society must have a focal center at which accretion commences and these centers have thus far each given name and charaeter to a nation. It will be observed that as commerce and civilization advance the artificial chess board, called political geography, at which crowned blockheads have played these bloody games, fade into insignificance. A true civilization tends to and cannot, but in the end, unify the race. The more limited a man's material and intellectual view, the narrower his horizon, the more jealous he is, of encroachments upon his boundaries and "prerogatives." What is true of the individual is true of the state or nation, for either is only an aggregation of individuals, and the whole cannot become of higher quality than its parts, or a stream rise higher than its fountain. War is the principal business of men, until they become at least half civilized. As they advance in civilization they learn better and desist from such employment. Civilization tends to put an end to national contests and war for two great reasons. First, because civilization is expensive and wars between civilized people are more so. Second, the higher the degree of the civilization of the people or nation, the greater its resources for resistance to an invader and dismemberment of its territories.

The assailant or invader, all things else equal, is always at a disadvantage, and thus natural causes assist and conduce to bring about the greatest good to the greatest number, that is to confine each nation, or people, to its own allotted and chosen territory. True it is the logic and morality of brute force, of two bulls pushing with their horns.

Nevertheless, it is the logic and morality of the doctrine that has maintained the degree of peace, that has obtained in Europe for

the last three hundred years and known as the "balance of the powers."

The only protection the weaker powers of Europe have had for that period for their territory is the mutual jealousies of the greater powers. Poor Poland's destiny in that regard fell on an evil day when the mutual necessities and fear of England, Austria, Russia and Germany of the First Napoleon made them *agree*, and she was mercilessly dismembered and partitioned among them. There can be no war of invasion when the true morality of Christianity obtains and controls.

Many have been waged in the name and by professed followers, but none in the spirit, or by authority of its *Founder*. According to the political economy and morality taught by Him, no war is justifiable but that of self-defence.

He said to one of his followers, "put up thy sword;" they who take the sword shall perish by the sword." That is, they who "take," assail with it, are governed by such a spirit of selfishness and disregard for other's rights that even if they do not perish on the swords of those they assail, they will in the end under the dominion and lead of that spirit turn upon and destroy each other. It is a *law* of human nature emphasized upon the page of history. "They that *take* the sword *shall* (not may) perish by the sword."

Those assailed have a right to and will resist and defend. If all ceased to "take the sword" ceased to assail with it, none would be compelled to defend and no war would be waged. Then "swords would be beaten into plough-shares, spears into pruning hooks and the nations would learn war no more."

No more navies, no more forts and arsenals, standing armies to levy debts and serfdom on all who remain employed in the avocations and arts of peace. The period of danger to nations and civilization from wars of invasion and dismemberment is passed. Society of states and nations is now threatened by *inside* rather than *outside* foes by the waring of their own members."

There is now, in the Christian civilized world, a well developed and powerful entity, known as "the public opinion" of it.

It consists of what all intelligent right-thinking people as a matter of course and almost of instinct think of certain courses of conduct. That leads them to condemn the conduct of a greater or a stronger people robbing and oppressing a weaker one, because they are able to do it. The government of England lives to-day, justly under the ban of that "public opinion."

For three hundred years it has pursued a uniform course of oppression of all weaker nations that have fallen under its influence and control. It is not intended here to enter the field of international law. Every rule of action and conduct in the dealings and relations of nations can be easily deduced and settled for them as for individuals, by recurring to the rule, "do to others as ye would that they should do to you." The application of that rule would take England and France out of China, with their brutal, unjust

dictation and interference, to enable them to compel that people to submit to christian England to destroy them by the importation and traffic in *opium*. It would take England out of India, Egypt and Ireland, with its repressive and forceful measures to extort from the people of those unhappy countries the fruits of their toil.

A man or a nation, in the true sense, becomes civilized only in the ratio that he learns and becomes willing to concede to others all the political and religious rights he claims for himself. Not that he accepts every man as a companion, or an equal, in every personal relation in life, but is willing and does concede to every other man, in his sphere, in the use and exercise of his capacities, whatever they may be, all that he claims for himself in the same respects.

England, of all the nations of the world to-day, presents the spectacle of a civilized people, at least who claim to be, but who have a half civilized, or less than half civilized, government. The morality of that government, for the last three hundred years, has not been any better than that of pagan Rome in the zenith of the prosperity of the republic, in her dealings with other nations. With both it has been only a question of power—the logic and morality of brute force. England's methods may have been a *little* more refined, but nevertheless, in the end, in actual results, none the less oppressive and cruel. Her maxim has been and still is, "the end justifies the means."

Until the public opinion of the christian civilized world enforces a better, a higher morality than that in international relations, how can we reasonably expect intelligent Chinamen, men of India or Egypt to seek or accept our christian religion? The language of human nature is, and will be: away with a religion and faith that teaches men to deal with their fellow men as your so-called christian English government has dealt and to-day deals with us.

"The guilty flee where no man pursueth." A robber mistrusts that all other men are robbers; or that the officers will come and visit justice on him for his misdeeds. And christian Europe to-day, under the yoke of *mistrust*, enslaves and makes serfs of its laboring class, to erect and maintain forts, arsenals, navies and standing armies to protect one christian(?) government against another! It presents a spectacle that "crucifies the Lord afresh and puts Him to an open *shame*" in the eyes of all true christians.

These considerations pertain to "moral and political economy;" they affect us as individuals, states and nations, in our material welfare. Our mutual national jealousies and distrusts put the yoke of bondage upon us, load us with national expenditures and debts that rest down with crushing weight upon the toiling millions. For, as we proceed, we shall see they are made the "mud sill," the foundation upon which rests the entire superstructure of fraud, force, oppression and *distrust*.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH AND STATE.

The two main factors of society viewed from within a sovereignty, are the "Church and State." No thoughtful mind can ignore this fact. Man is a moral, a religious, a worshipping being. Nor is it a characteristic that clings to him only in a savage state; civilization but seems to cultivate.

He must, he will have a morality, a religion, better or worse,—a God to worship. This predisposition, in all ages, climes and conditions, when he has attained any degree of civilization, always developes some kind of oracle, soothsayer, priesthood or ministry, to whom he looks for instruction as to what he ought or ought not to do in matters of conscience, and often in matters of state, and for revelations as to his hopes for the future. We have christianity as the prevailing religion. As such it has given the name of Christiandom to Western Europe and our own continent.

The relation of "Church and State," in all ages, has been a vexed one. It is both a religious and a political one. But it will be observed, it has never been raised until men reach such a stage in their national civilization that they begin to demand constitutional guarantees for their rights and liberties, and fixed and known rules for the administration of government and justice. Until such a period the priesthood usually, as history shows, busy the left hand in the ministrations of the altar and things *eternal*, and the right in grasping after the good things of life *temporal*. While telling the faithful, with great unction, to "lay up treasures in heaven, where moth and rust do not corrupt nor thieves break through nor steal," the priest has been willing to "lay up treasures on earth" and take the chances with the moths and thieves,—that is, as a rule.

A priesthood or ministry are men; in this respect there has been little difference between the priesthood and ministry of christianity and those of other religions. While saying this we are aware of many noble and worthy exceptions; we are now speaking in a general way. If you doubt the statement, look at the religious establishments, salaries and sinecures fastened by law upon the people of Europe to-day.

Such a ministry and priesthood as this, has always acknowledged the rights of the people to constitutional guarantees against their and the State's assumptions and corrupt exactions at the same time the *temporal* authority did; that is when *both* were compelled to do il by force. The assumption of temporal *authority* by a Christian ministry or priesthood is in violation of the spirit, precept and example of its *Founder*. He claimed no superior rights for himself or his, *even* as a *subject*, much less any claims to civil authority. He sent Peter to catch the fish to get the "penny" to pay Cæsar's "tax" for "me and there" "lest they be offended." He did not

attempt to establish any but a moral government in the *world*. When Peter "drew his sword and struck a servant of the high priest and smote off his ears," Jesus said unto him "put up again, thy sword into his place, for *all they that take* the sword *shall perish* by the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my father and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?" —Mathew 26 Chapter, verses 51, 52, 53. As much as to say I do not seek the victory of an Alexander, or a Cæsar, the *victory* of physical or animal forces; my battles and warfare are, in a higher sphere, on a nobler plain, my triumph shall be a moral one.

In answer to Pilate's question he made it plain, "Art thou the king of the Jews" said Pilate? "Jesus answered, my kingdom *is not* of this world; if my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is my kingdom not from hence."—John, 18 chapter, verses 33-36. He directly declined all jurisdiction over temporal matters. "And one of the company said unto him, Master speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me, and he said unto him, man *who made me a judge* or a divider over you?"—Luke, chapter 12, verses 13-14. He refused all semblance of temporal authority. "When Jesus therefore *perceived* that they would come and take him by force to make him a king he departed again, into a mountain himself alone."—John, chapter 6, verse 15. Again he said: "Ye judge after the flesh; I judge no man."—John, chapter 8, verse 15.

"If any man hear my words and *believe not*, I judge him not; for *I came not to judge the world*, but to *save the world*."—John, chapter 12, verse 47. "But Jesus called them unto him (his disciples) and said, ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority over them." "*But it shall not be so among you:* but whosoever will be *great among* you, *let him be your minister;* and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the *son of man came not to be* ministered unto, *but to minister* and to give his life a ransom for money."—Matthew, chapter 20, verses 25-6-7-8. "And when he was demanded of the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God shall come, he answered them and said, the kingdom of God cometh not with observation."

"Neither shall they say lo here! lo there! for the kingdom of God is *within* you."

It is not in palaces "Bishoprics," "Archbishopries" *lordly* state and *princely* incomes of my lords spiritual? who rob the widow and the fatherless to live in the style and make a display of himself in the togery, fuss and feathers of the *crowned* block-heads, who for centuries have *ruled* and robbed Europe.

It was a *greedy*, covetous hypocrite who sold him to the "chief priests," for thirty pieces of silver." He said of himself "the foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head."

If he was poor and "came not to be ministered unto" but "to minister" who as a priest shall command his brethren to minister unto him? so he may live like the "Gentiles who exercise authority." If he refused to be a "judge and divider" who of his ministers shall? If he refused to be "crowned" who of them shall don that insignia (usually) of a block-head; the greatest secular kings *even* have refused to wear them. "Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so am I."

"If I then *your Lord* and *Master* have washed your feet; ye also ought to *wash* one another's feet."

"For I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you."

"Verily I say unto you, the servant is not greater than his lord; *neither he that is sent* greater than he that sent him."—Verses 13-14-15-16, chapter XIII of John.

If he *washed* his disciples' feet, who of them shall put on the airs of potentates and sit on "a piece of velvet stretched over a few pieces of wood" as a throne?

In fact they have and many still do "rob the widow and the fatherless" and "for a pretense make long prayers."

The Christian Church is the means used to propagate his doctrines in the world; it is that, or it is worse than nothing; it is an imposter. Its labors are to build up a kingdom, not of benefices, sinecures and livings, where greedy hypocrites oppress the people; not a kingdom of armies, navies, and imposing arrays of things "that come by observation;" but a kingdom of peace on earth and good will to men;" to teach men it is right and better in the long run to "do to others as ye would that men should do to you," in all things.

Its jurisdiction is clearly defined by its *Immortal Founder*. If he, in the face of persecution and ignominious death would not use legions of angels to defend himself, what mangy, cowardly, greedy, bloody minded, cruel or ignorant wretch, as a pretended follower, in the centuries after him, had the right to "urge holy wars" of extermination against both "infidels" and "Christians." If he "judged no man," who of them had jurisdiction to send men to be roasted at the stake to appease their bigoted cruelty. Christ inflicted no physical or civil penalties, waged no war, nor permitted any to be waged in his name.

The church nor its ministers have any authority to do either; they go beyond the bounds of their high calling when they attempt it. And history shows that when a clergy has once seated itself in the saddle of secular power, over the people, it has in all ages, been the most cruel and brutal of all classes of riders and tyrants.

Their tyranny always has had a specie of ferocity no where else displayed. And this may be easily accounted for we think. From the nature of his calling, no one withstood the priest or minister in his teachings and ministration.

If men differ with him they usually do it or have in the past

done it in silence. A priesthood or ministry are only men, with all the natural frailties of men. This very fact of their not being withstood in their discourses and being required to "give a reason for the faith in them," leads them in their very habits of thought and expression of it to grow *dogmatical.*

If he has authority in temporal things he will carry these very feelings and habits of thought into them and his administration of affairs will be as dogmatic as his habits of thought and religious teaching. It is natural and his *axiom* he makes matter of religion and conscience in secular as well as spiritual things. The offices of the church in relation to the administration of temporal affairs, indeed, in all her real spheres, in relation to men is like that of a true mother to a wayward adult son.

She admonishes and appeals to him by all his ties; she tries to win him from his evil habits; she sets before him the penalties here and hereafter for bad conduct and crime; the rewards of good conduct and living here and hereafter; she attempts to make him a good law-abiding citizen and prevent his crime. But when an overt act of crime is committed and civil penalties are incurred, and the police (or the State) takes him in hand by actual force, she hides her face in shame and sorrow; she may follow him to the prison to admonish and minister, to the scaffold even to see him die.

But she does not want to pull off his nails or pinch or roast his flesh, no matter how great a "heretic" or how great his crime.

She does not enjoy the smell of roasting flesh of martyrs, for their opinion, or the scenes of a St. Bartholomew. That priests and ministers in her name have presided at such orgies is true. But it was when and where she was, as it were, unsexed, debauched, or truly it was not herself at all; it was a shameful exhibition of what came and comes, yes and would come again from centuries of union of church and state. As a union it is like incest; it is pollution and degradation of both. It is no use, as believers or unbelievers to review the past in a spirit of bitterness or acrimony. But we must all do it, for its truth.

As Catholics or protestants, or neither, all of us as citizens of the world's republic in the light of the history and truths of the past, it behooves us one and all to brook with no degree of allowance, any daliance even that looks like union of church and state.

My church can no more be entrusted with "establishment" or any secular assistance, advantage or union with the State, than yours or any one, more than another.

Christ himself claimed no superior or political advantages over any man, when he was here among men. He taught men to "do to others as we would that they should do to us" in all things; who of us if actuated and directed by his spirit wants any advantage over any one, whether he believes as we do or not?

Indeed, as soon as we display such a spirit, we prove we "are none of his."

These are considerations that come home to us all, and the fact

of unions of church and state still exists, that is an "established" church, one supported by taxes levied on men, who do not believe in or attend at her ministrations—that too in a county that has more political influence in this country than any other; that too in a country that claims to be the great "civilizer" of the world, but that in fact is not half civilized herself.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATE—ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The history of the world presents three distinct forms of human government; three steps the race has taken in its struggle for and toward civilization, each one taken in blood, tears and ashes; each one has required centuries to take it and each fades into the other, by almost imperceptible shades of difference. (1). Was the patriarchial or monarchial, the one man absolute as the source of all political law-making, interpreting and executing power. History shows the law to be, that the less the one man, the monarch knows, the more wives he must have, the more solicitous he is as to what he shall eat and drink and "wherewithal he shall be clothed," the palace in which he shall reside and the *tomb* in which his carcass shall finally be stowed. And there is always a direct ratio between his ignorance and the degree of jealousy shown for "any encroachments upon his prerogative" The Czar of Russia, the Khedive of Egypt, as agent and resident attorney for the English government, the Emperor of China, the Governor-General of India and the King of Dahominy, I believe are the most considerable personages among men now contending for such honor.

The absolute monarchy is the government of animal force, with or without "the consent of the governed." (2). The constitutional monarchy or Empire of which England is supposed to be the highest type. Her constitution is no more or less than a history of the struggle of the people with the absolute covetousness, lust of power of her monarchs and the class of retainers who always surrounded them.

It is the written history and tradition of the struggle of the mind, brain and heart, the intelligence of the people for their natural and political rights.

The more the greed of the monarch and his retainers have been checked and confined to bounds the more "constitutional" the government is. But as in the absolute so in theory, in that form of government, the "crown" is the source of political law-making, interpreting and executing power. Violations of law are "against the peace of the king;" "the King can do no wrong" for the satisfactory reason no matter what he does it is politically right.

The functions of government are exercised as "grants from the

crown;" the charters of corporations are "franchises granted by the crown." Those who administer that form of government are the "agents" of the crown. That is to say a "constitutional monarchy" is an absolute one, with the horns sawed off. It is savage dog with a muzzle on; a beast *ferae naturæ*, but chained so it cannot rend and tear.

A half civilized people may be unable to appreciate or even sustain one any better. But a civilized people capable of self-government are only scandalized, hampered, retarded in all worthy human endeavors by it, and they ought to shed it as half civilized men shed their habiliments of skins, their clubs, bows and poisoned arrows, as they struggle on and up to the light and plain of a civilized life. (3). We have the Republican, the latest in point of time the noblest of them all. The only form that recognizes both the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. The other forms may recognize the former premise, but it changed the second to read "the guardianship of man" "by divine right." The Brotherhood of man must be acknowledged as the foundation of equal political rights, whether we reach it, as many of us do as a deduction from the premise of the Fatherhood of God or by some other mode of reasoning as many good citizens do. The mode of reasoning by which we do it is not so material, so we reach the world's platform of political rights. "Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you." "The inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" secured in our constitution, were not snatched, a few, or one at a time, by "rebellious subjects," from the hands of a raving or grumbling monarch, more than half given away in a disgraceful compromise.

Our Revolutionary Fathers, after contending for twenty years with the beastial, covetous, lust and assumptions of the English government, for some of the alleged rights of Englishmen, under the glorious(?) constitution; after being denied even these; after their "repeated petitions" had been treated with repeated insult and they had been "spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne," arose, at last, in the name of their God-given manhood, and, in the terms of the immortal Declaration of Independence, said.—You can have, gentlemen, just what you can take over our dead bodies—"We appeal to arms and the God of hosts, all that is left us now." They made a bold declaration of, and strike for, the *political rights* of man. They declared nor waged any war of invasion, only one of *self defense*. Nor was there anything new or especially meritorious in the mere "appeal to arms" in the defense of their liberties. Men have done that in all ages. But there was something new in the declaration of independence as the foundation and platform upon which they did it. It was, and still is, new in the history of the world. It is in these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights

governments are instituted among men deriving their *just powers*, by the consent of the governed;—that when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." That declaration, in that sense, as the platform of an "appeal to arms," was *new* in the history of the world.

By it our fathers said, if we succeed in this "appeal to arms" it is in self defense: we have no war of invasion to wage. For "all men are created equal;" none are born with the spurs on, or a gold spoon in their mouths. In this appeal to arms, or any we are compelled to make in self defense, we ask, nor demand any civil, religious or political right that we are unwilling to concede to our assailants and the rest of mankind:—that is, they declared the grand truth and principle that if they succeeded and did become great and powerful by repulsing their assailants and oppressors, they would not in their turn become assailants and oppressors of their oppressors, or any one else.

The history of the world, until then, shows that those who have "appealed to arms" for their liberties and have become successful, did it on a principle that as soon as their oppressor was repulsed and they gained strength to do it, they, in turn, became oppressors. In a word, the declaration of independence is an application to the political rights and relations of man, of the principle embodied in the twelve words, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you." And in that fact, only, is it greater than any and all other political documents until that time. That is the corner stone of the republic; in that lies the secret of its success, and in obedience to that principle, only, is there safety and perpetuity. No war of invasion can be waged to impose government of any form on another people, for "all just government is by the *consent* of the governed;" or to take or dismember their territory is the same thing.

Our country never has openly and flagrantly violated this grand principle but once in its history. That was in its shameful and dastardly raid upon the sister Republic of Mexico for territory upon which to extend the institution of human slavery. It was a slaveholder's unrighteous raid for slave territory. But we bled as a nation for it. We paid bitterly for every concession made to the slave power, and for this among the rest.

The constitution of the United States is the application of that principle to government—an attempt to put it into practice It may be asked, What has the form of government to do with the subject in hand? Much in ours; in the constitutional monarchy, less; in the absolute, since there can be no fixed rules, perhaps nothing.

But, with us, "all just government is by the consent of the governed;" taxes, and all burdens levied upon the citizen for its support, are by his consent, and any tax or burden not levied by direct authority from the constitution is not by his consent, and he

is under no obligation to pay it. And it is not only his *right* but it is a *duty* to resist any and all such; for they are encroachments upon his rights. If one may be thus taken, all may. And such is the history and nature of power, especially in money and financial matters, that to "give it an inch it will take an ell;" it knows no bounds. Our constitution is a contract, a compact to which society as a unit and each citizen are parties. In its spirit and true intent "the wrong of one is the cause of all. In it we have (1) an enumeration of the general powers granted by each citizen to the government. (2). An enumeration of the rights to be guaranteed by the government in return to the citizen. Of course it deals as to both the powers and rights in general terms. The powers granted and the rights to be secured are correlative; one is granted for the greater good to come, in protection of the other. The citizen yields (1) the original natural right of dividing and atomizing society into states, or smaller, or any fractions, each one "to be a law unto itself," and accepts in lieu thereof the aggregating compact of "we, the people of the United States;" that makes us a distinct sovereignty, a nation, to be governed in national matters by the will of the *majority*, not of a *fraction*, but of the *whole*. (2). He yields the right to redress his wrongs; that is the administration of justice. (3). He yields his natural right of personal barter of the products of his labor, and accepts the offices of his government in the regulation of commerce, instead. (4). He yields the control of all relations of his government to others; and he retains to himself and his state all powers not expressly granted in the constitution. These powers he cedes to his government to better his condition. He has parted with all power over them; if the government does not accept and execute them they are, so far as he is concerned, annihilated in effect. It is a part of the compact that it does accept them and undertakes to execute them.

But there are terms and limitations upon these grants of power. One of these express limitations is, that they are not *granted in solido* to the government; but they are granted in the light of the experience of mankind in three distinct classes to the three subordinate branches or departments of government, created and recognized by the constitution. The laws of the human mind and the experience of mankind in the science of civil government, naturally divides its functions into three departments or classes of agents, in the government of men by law. In the first place there must be law; in the second place it must be executed. Then there must be a department of government, a class of agents whose duty it is to formulate and enact it. Second, to interpret and apply it to the cases as they arise. Third, after the law is made, interpreted, and its judgment rendered, a department and class whose duty it is to execute it. Hence, in the constitution, all power over the subject of law-making is granted by the citizens in Section 1 of Ariticle I. of the Constitution, in these words: "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which

shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives." And no other body or person, under the constitution, can formulate and enact any law on any subject or "power herein granted" that a citizen is under any obligation to obey. The law interpreting and administering power is granted in these words in Section 1 of Article III. of the Constitution: "The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time establish." And no other officer or department of the government has the power to interpret the law and render a judgment that a citizen is under obligations to obey, than a court established under this grant.

The power to execute the laws is granted in Section 1, Article II. of the Constitution, in these words: "The Executive powers shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."

It will be seen that in each one of this trinity of granting clauses, the word "vested" is used. It was not a matter of chance that it was done. It means these departments were clothed with and possessed of these powers, so they could not be divested of them. Nor are they authorized to grant or sublet the exercise of the respective functions reposed in them to another, or even to each other; and the Supreme Court of the United States in construing the constitution has always so held.

This subject will be resumed under the head of Commerce, Transportation and Money. We shall then see that this principle has been, and is to-day, flagrantly violated.

CHAPTER V.

THE STATE—OUR SUBJECT ANALYZED.

When we view society and the State for the purpose of a study of our subject, the following order of thought is evolved:

1. Civilization creates demand.
2. Demand stimulates to labor.
3. Labor produces property—wealth.

This is the first stage and the order of the growth of a community, or state in civilization. Nature spontaneously produces enough to subsist a sparse but not a dense population. It must have human labor, some wealth and some degree of civilization. It can only be supported by the fruits of the toil of human hands. Until human labor becomes the rule, there is little civilization and little wealth.

Wealth or capital is not civilization—but there can be but little without it and there can be no civilization without labor.

Wealth is a means to an end. It ceases to be even that when its distribution is so unjust, it all lodges in the hands of a few or a class. For then the motive to intelligent human labor, the expecta-

tion of enjoying its reward is taken away and in the ratio it is done, labor will at first complain, become factious and in the end cease.

The problem of problems that to-day stares christendom in the face is that of the just distribution of wealth, the fruits of labor. It is one no civilization has ever solved. Its presentation to those of the past, has been to them, the noontide hour of their zenith prosperity and from that period they have started on the track of a sure, swift decline. At this point they have reached a majority that cast on them responsibilities they were unable to comprehend and solve. Here all of them confront the questions, Land and Land Tenure, Transportation and Money, if any they have of any importance, and these three great subjects: 1. Land and Land Tenure. 2. Transportation. 3. Money, its nature, use and abuse, are always the three great factors in the subject of the distribution of wealth.

They stand like inscriptions on the head-stones of the civilizations of the past.

Thus our subject naturally divides into *three* Trinities, (1), the three departments of government, (2), civilization demands capital, (3), land, transportation, money.

CHAPTER VI.

CIVILIZATION CREATES DEMAND.

Civilization is a taming process; it reclaims and brings men back from a savage state. It shows them they are cold, naked, ignorant and blind.

The ruder and more barbaric a people, the fewer their wants and more easily supplied. They use things as nearly as possible, just as nature presents them. They live upon game and wild fruits, dress in the skins of animals and use no implements but the most primitive, have no habitation but the rudest huts.

But as a people advance in intelligence and civilization, their wants and demands multiply in the same ratio. Objects, as nature presents them, no longer meet their requirements. They demand greater variety in the kinds and preparation of food, they throw away the undressed skins of animals and call for clothing; the bark, cane, or mud hut disappears and some kind of a house is erected. All these necessaries require improved implements in their construction; these to cut must be made of iron and steel, and so on through the different departments of industry and consumption.

The first effort will be to supply the necessaries of life and after this is accomplished, then there is a desire to possess the luxuries. These cost more than the necessaries, as their production requires a higher degree of skill in the laborer who produces them.

Civilization is expensive, it quickens all the perceptions and capabilities of the human mind, wakens new desires, creates new

demands and necessities, which in time will be supplied. As taste is cultivated and men make advancement in the arts and sciences, wants and demands for manufactured and artistic articles are multiplied. Also intellectual activity calls for intellectual food, and notwithstanding of "the making of many books there is no end," yet the cry is for more. So that in countries, the people of which were before employed in hunting, fishing, tending herds, or may be agriculture alone, varieties of employment spring up to meet the increasing demands of civilization. Either the civilized nation must manufacture for itself, or pay heavy tribute to those that do. If it deals in producing the raw material alone, then it is a "hewer of wood and a bearer of burdens" for those who do its manufacturing. It must furnish sufficient for its own wants and to pay those who work for it, thus exhausting it natural resources of raw material, while the manufacturing people invest in nothing but their labor.

To be truly civilized a people not only must be so in their modes of living but also in their state and dispositions of mind. A robber is not in a true sense civilized; he is a destroyer of civilization. If all men followed his example no matter how refined may be his methods or his manner of living, civil society could not exist. No man is civilized whose example and course of conduct if universally followed would destroy society. In such case it exists in spite of him, if at all.

A robber would be harmless alone on an island; it is his violation of his relations to others that makes him detestable. For society to exist certain rules must be obeyed.

Civilization consists in and cannot exist without mutual trust confidence and concession among men. It clothes men and puts them in their right minds. In its highest states a man as to all his temporal wants and necessities and interests is compelled, literally "to walk by faith and not by sight." As to nearly all he eats and drinks, he knows nothing of it or its preparation, its cleanliness or healthfulness, only as he trusts to those who prepare it. If he goes to buy a piece of land he knows the title to it can only be shown by the record; it is made and kept by men and it takes an expert to even make an abstract of what the record shows and to tell him whether his title is good, even after the abstract is made. So when he sends or receives a message over the wire; he puts his life in the keeping of his fellow men every time he boards a steamboat, ship or car. He banks his money and buys drafts on the basis of faith.

As to mutual concessions when there was not a man to the square mile, few were required, little matter how filthy his pig sty, soap factory, or when or how he disposed of his offal or filth. But, when others crowded around him and his accumulations of filth, bad smells and sights poisoned and offended them and bred disease, then society commands him to clear away his ugly sights and clean up his bad smells.

Civilized society crowds men—rubs them together—it does, it must rub off the square sharp corners of short-sighted selfishness.

the knots and unseemly deformities of savage and rude barbarity. As population grows more and more dense, the earth is occupied by individual holdings, the wild fruits and games and fuels that were common disappear, and soon the only source of supply of human necessities becomes the ministering hand of human toil. Everything of that kind must be produced or bought. In a civilized dense population there are only three ways for a human being to procure "the means whereby we live." First. By earning and rendering an equivalent. Second By gift or charity. Third. By robbery. He may rob according to law. If "all men are created equal" one man, as to natural rights occupies a place as advantageous as another. No one has the natural, or any right to quarter himself on his fellow-men, as a pensioner. And if one man by law or custom is permitted to thus put himself and family on the rest of society, from generation to generation exempt from the natural human burden of daily and yearly producing or in any way rendering an actual equivalent for their subsistence, then something is wrong.

One thing is clear—somebody is doing to others as he would *not* that they should do to him. If men obeyed that precept no one would appropriate something for nothing unless as a charity? Every person of right thinking admits that law custom or institution in society that enables one person to do to others as he would not that they should do to him, is unjust. Christendom seems to read those words with many "mental reservations" and "ease its conscience" (if it has any) that way." Those words are a command if they are anything. It reads "do"—"do" to others," your contemporary fellow-men—not to angels in the next, but to *men* in this world. It is in the imperative mode. It does not read: if it suits your convenience; if you are so poor, weak and uninfluential you cannot do otherwise—selfish hypocrites read that *between* the lines. It is a command as much and as plain as any one or all of the ten commandments. Indeed it is the summing up of "the law and the prophets" by Christ himself as to whole duty of man to man. "Thou shalt love * * thy neighbor as thyself." He was a great political as well as religious teacher.

That one precept would "leaven the whole lump," of civilization and take all the deadly taint and virus of injustice out of it. He made no mistake, he understood "what is in man." Those words not only embody a moral precept but a law that is and becomes an actual a military necessity to men in a dense population. He never retracted or qualified them; that command was given in the light of the sellishness, of human nature. No other law can preserve human society; as it grows denser and denser men are rubbed closer and closer together, all their interests become woven and interwoven into its warp and woof, as the very means of existence come to depend daily more and more upon mutual trust, concession, it is compelled, is *driven* to that rule of conduct or to destruction. If each is governed by short-sighted sellishness and distrust, they become more and more repellant, the atoms repel and disintegration

must follow. Christ's law is the attraction of gravitation, the only power that can hold society together The imperfect obedience to it, in christendom, is all has held it in even its present loose bonds.

It is clear to be seen, as populations grow dense, the oftener is the rule called in question, the oftener obeyed or disobeyed and the nearer must society approach that standard of "righteousness" as nations. To illustrate: You enter an empty railway coach, you may deposit your baggage on two seats on one side, turn two together on the other and recline at ease. All goes well—no one disputes your appropriations. Anon your train pulls into a town where everybody and his girl are going on "picnic excursion." There is a rush, many a squeeze, "soft eyes look to eyes that speak again and all goes merry" as ten weddings on wheels. You and your luggage are unceremoniously stowed in the off end of a single seat and the fat woman and her band-boxes, etc., are stowed on you to make room. You are surprised at how little space you can occupy. You are all on good behavior, as to humor at least. You must all be careful to keep off each other's corns and elbows or smile politely "no harm." You are compelled to accommodate yourself to a new situation.

And the sooner you do, the sweeter the spirit of love, *charity* and *decency* in which you accommodate yourself to that situation the better time you will have for the rest of your journey. As citizens we are all on board for a ride, from the cradle to the grave. Of late christendom seems to be going on a picnic. The coaches are filling up. Everybody, his girl, the old folks and his wife and children are coming on, all squeezing in, they must—they will go. Congress may stop the mints of the United States and the coinage of silver to to please bankers and usurers, but it cannot stop the mints of *heaven* and the coinage of babies. They will obey the command, "go forth, multiply and replenish the earth," even if they obey no other; they will "multiply" even if there is no place to "go forth" to, when they can no longer "go west young man and grow up with the country."

A few passengers who were first, or who claim through tickets, a little better than first-class, are making wry faces at the new order of things. Here is a gouty, bloated, short-winded choleric old fogy who wears a number five hat and number sixty pants, who wants "to own all the land joining him," but he never had capacity to cultivate forty acres of land intelligently. He demands four seats and displays his passes, all free, clear through with great gusto. Here sits a personage, whose anatomy and physique are made up of teeth, gullet, pocket and stomach; he disdains to look at anybody—he is a law unto himself. He bought a license to run this train and anybody who don't like his way of riding can get off—he will carry his bottles and brandy on this train—he demands four seats for accommodation of the liquor traffic.

Here in the rear of the coach sits a personage whose affidavit face says: "I thank God I am not as other men" and "devour

widows' houses" and "for a pretence makes long prayer." He is the pious, deaconized passenger of the crew by all odds. Disturb him to give the common herd of picnicers a seat? He owns this road and the county through which it runs; no indeed, shylock would put the conductor (the government) off the train, for such impertinence. His gout, bunions, bags and baggage take four seats. So the innocent herd of *picnicers* for a while stand around in the aisles and stare at empty seats and each others vacant faces. They are standing up yet. But they are growing restless. Soon they will hustle their gouty brutal fellow passengers. They refuse to do to others as they would have others to do to them. They will have to get on good behavior as other people.

In obedience to those words is our only bow of promise, "of peace on earth and good will to men." They have a counterpart, an alternative, a consequence of disobedience as all such have. And it is as positive as unqualified.

It is in these words: "Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." If you will not do to others as you would they should do to you; if the only limit to the advantages you will take of your fellow-men is that of unjust law or force; if with you might makes right, you had better beware. For after awhile, it may be long delayed; but after awhile it will come and men will "judge" you by your own code and law; they will try you in your own court and "with what judgment ye judged ye shall be judged," and you will have no right to complain; if you do men "will laugh at your calamity and mock when your fear cometh." After awhile when you are corpulent, helpless and over-fed upon the fruits of your injustice by doing to others as ye would not they should do to you, they will come back to you, and they will do to you as you have done to them, and "with what *measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again.*" That is the law as unalterable, as that the rivers worry, fret, murmur and hurry on, retarded at times, but they will finally get to the gulfs, the ocean. You might as well remonstrate or fight against the law of gravitation. You have to take the consequences of violated law or stand from under its penalties. You may howl and shriek all the names of the language at those who murmur of your injustice to them; you may launch "tramp-laws" anathemas, excommunications, executions at them, but the murmur will rise higher and higher, the cloud grow blacker and they *will* come. Christ said they would—human nature says they will—it is a law planted in it to preserve it against tyrants. History shows they have come; yes, and came with a vengeance; came to stay. And when you think a moment, they have the same right, yea more, to come back and avenge these wrongs you had to assail and commit wrong; you had to do to them as ye would not have them do to you. The language of Christ, of reason, of human nature, of the red page of history, to christendom of to-day, is "agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the

way with him," "do to others" justly while you may, before the issue grows so sharp it comes to blows. The man who knowingly refuses to be governed by that law laid down by Christ cannot claim to be a Christian; he cannot be a good citizen, he is an *anarchist* of the *worst type*. No matter what other professions he makes, whether arrayed in Senatorial toga or Sacerdotal gown: his example and influence leads to mutual distrust, to refusal of mutual or any concession to negative all the fundamental conditions of civilization to solitary chaos and that is the very essence of anarchy.

No matter what such a man claims his fellowmen owe him, he denies he owes them or society anything, at least its due. On that platform, he appeals to force—or an unjust law. And on that platform to force sooner or later it will come. Intelligent men will have no respect for unjust rules and laws any longer than they retain the hope of repealing them by constitutional and peacable means When that hope is destroyed by the army of aggressors by subverting or prostituting the constitutional means, if they have any spirit left, then and there they will meet injustice and force with force.

Then society has two prospects spread before it It is on the confines of the red sands and lurid sunset of the ashy desert of anarchy; or, by a baptism of blood and fire to enter through the gates of civil revolution to a nobler civilization, to a plain where men willingly, or, by enforced obedience, come nearer the precept of doing to others as they would they should do to them. In either event, the votaries of greed and injustice are punished. A man who in theory and practice denies the obligation of obedience to that basic rule is unfit for human society.

He puts his fellow-citizens to one or the other of two alternatives: to bear the impositions of himself and class or resist his and their assaults by force. And it only remains for men of sense and understanding to defend themselves against him and his class, as they would against a savage or a beast of prey, by an appeal, if necessary to the only laws recognized by them, that is the law of force.

He and his class are the same, no matter where they are found, no matter whether clad in the robes of clerical or secular power, or entrenched behind the bulwarks of laws, customs, and institutions, hoary with age, or clad in the rags of the clown or miser. As a class, they say, I am better than thou. I have a right to something for nothing. Age is not a sure sign of justice or certificate of a right, of a custom, law or institution to exist. If so, polygamy, slavery, robbery, absolute monarchy, rapine and slaughter can present the credentials.

While civilization creates demand for all its accompaniments, yet whether it will be a permanent and healthy one; whether it will be supplied, or if supplied done on such terms it can continue, all depends upon moral as well as physical causes And the moral is in this, the anterior one, the cause of causes.

CHAPTER VII.

DEMAND STIMULATES TO LABOR.

Civilized necessity makes an inventory of the things needed. Demand as here used is the desire, for, coupled with an effort to obtain them. It is a natural hunger for other than the accompaniments of a savage life Appetite stimulates to effort to procure the means to satisfy and human labor is the only means by which it can be acquired. There can be no civilization without human labor.

Its only intelligent stimulant is the expectation of enjoying its reward. If the laborer is met with either one of two probabilities; first, that from natural laws and causes his labor will produce no reward; or, second, if it does, it will be taken from him his stimulant to engage in it diminishes in the ratio that he becomes satisfied either one of the propositions are true. It is as natural as that a hungry man will cease to make an effort for food, as he sees the chances to gain it slip away from him. As a rule nature and her laws respond to the hand of toil. The toilers do not despond or distrust because of her laws. It is the artificial customs, laws and institutions of society, that robs labor of its just reward. They depend on moral or rather immoral causes. It is man's inhumanity to man that makes countless millions mourn" and threatens the civilization of to-day with many dangers. When the laborer is deprived of the just reward of his toil, he by force of circumstances ceases to be a consumer. And thus again as it always does, we find that short-sighted greed and oppression "destroys the goose that lays the golden egg." If he is once denied his just reward, the rule is, it is the nature of injustice to go on to the last end of an extreme, until the laborer is barely permitted to retain enough to exist.

It is the dictates of even greed and injustice to do that. But there, yes and long before he gets there, the laborer is only a slave —he lives with no hope—the future is to him a diminishing, a vanishing prospect. One of two things must soon follow. Either he became a tame soulless slave "whipped to the task," in whose labor there is no profit; or he will come out, like a she tiger robbed of her whelps, and then woe betide his despoiler. In either event the established state of things must give way. Civilization stimulates to labor. Whether it will continue to do it, depends upon whether the labor is permitted to reap its just reward. That is the ever recurring problem left for us to solve.

CHAPTER VIII.

LABOR PRODUCES CAPITAL.

"Labor is prior to and above capital and deserves much the greater consideration."—[Lincoln.

Think one moment. What other agency can produce capital?

Capital is the fruit of labor—a surplus, more than is needed for the present, and laid away for future use. Labor is living, thinking, feeling, breathing, loving, hating, human life. Physiologists tell us that a day's labor by a stout, healthy man, costs about one pound of human tissue, muscle, nerve force and blood, seasoned with brain. Capital is dead; a good representation of it a is a sugar cured and canvassed ham; it has been produced and is non-productive. It has value, because it has cost human toil, human flesh and blood to produce it; and it will and does meet a want as human food. It is perishable, and perishes with the using. It must be used in its season or it becomes an offense. And it depends on human consumption and demand to have a market and value.

Capital, by natural law, is classified in two kinds: (1.) That which perishes with the using. Of such nature is the food, raiment, fuels and utensils. In these man must, from the nature of the case, an absolute property, as against all others.

(2.) That used by us, but that outlasts the user. Of such nature is air, light, water and land. In a just sense these elements can not be called capital, for they are not produced by man's effort or toil. But there is a sense in which one person, as against all others, acquires a vested right, for a time, in each one or all these elements of nature. But, at most, it is only a life estate: he may leave his successor or heir in possession, who succeeds to an like estate as against others. But no human being would have the right, even if he could invent a process to do it, to exhaust the life-sustaining principle in one cubic inch of earth, one drop of water, one ray of light, one breath of air. If they could, when we look at the past and present rapacity of men, we conclude our earth would be a dead planet, as astronomers tell us our moon is. But nature sets a flaming sword and a great gulf between the rapacity and ability of men in this respect. It says to man, no matter what fantastic figure he cuts, how he defies men and insults heaven, what he claims to or does not "own," whether an acre and a hut or a palace and a continent, "Dust thou art and to dust shalt thou return." He can only actually use and enjoy enough for one person's natural wants. He may have robbed others of their rights, prevented them from entering in and enjoying their little share of nature's bounty intended for them; but at last, full of violence, dissatisfied, full of choler, gout and surfeit, ten chances he dies like a dog, before his time, but has time and sense to see, when too late, that he has only played the part of "dog in the manger."

But there is a limited property in all these four elements, recognized and that must be protected by law. A man has no right to build a wall or structure and intercept the "ancient light" of the sun or day, of your dwelling; or to build any manufactory that poisons the air of your habitation; or poison the fountain or stream at which you drink; or dam up and intercept the natural outlet and flow of a stream and flood your land. But in all these cases the

question of a prior use and occupation is one consideration that governs.

In these elements men have rights to use, but it is a qualified right. When the right is of such nature but one person or family can enjoy the right or privilege at a time; one may acquire for the time he uses, an absolute right as against all others.

More especially is this true of land. *Improvements* to land are the direct result of human labor, as much as food, fuel and raiment; and the right to the enjoyment of enough of land to give living room and the improvements made on it, is as absolutely unqualified as that to food and raiment, when produced or earned by labor.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JUST DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

We have seen the taming process of civilization causes men to become dissatisfied with the savage modes of living; causes them to desire and seek the necessities, comforts, and, finally, the luxuries of life. To accomplish this end men are compelled to engage in habitual, systematic labor. No other agency can produce these things. And when they are produced and accumulate beyond present needs, they are aggregated and called *capital*. And this is classified as perishable and imperishable.

No matter from what standpoint we view the fact or state denominated civilization, whether from a material or a moral one, we see the anterior cause to be *actual human labor*. It is the *sine qua non* of civilization. "Labor is *prior to* and *above* capital, and deserves much the greater consideration."

The fact that the question of "the just distribution of labor" is a present pressing problem, is an emphatic assertion of existing injustice. It asserts the fact of the existence of an unjust distribution. The just distribution ought never to be a necessity. For wealth or capital ought never to come to a person as "owner" only as a *reward* for labor and for an equivalent rendered. If it did no "distribution" would be necessary in any sense only in that of "supply and demand." For it would distribute itself, as it was produced, into the hands of the natural, the legimate "owners," that is, of the *producer*. Whether wealth, the fruits of labor, is now justly distributed, is a question of fact, to be passed upon from observation.

That it is a question up and that will "not down at the bidding" is admitted. Two classes of anarchists threaten the destruction of the civilization of christendom of to-day; one by the mouthings of demagogues and actual threats, the other by acts and a course of conduct. The first class say the civilization of to-day and its concomitant fact, civil government, is all wrong; all vicious, no re-

deeming feature in it and it ought all to be devoted to destruction and all the present recognized principles of property overturned; the class of whom six were recently executed at Chicago.

The second class is composed of those who systematically rob labor of its just reward, according to law. Who say of the present order of things it is now all just right; it must all be maintained at the present status no matter at what cost. What we need is more "tramp" laws, "stronger government," more Pinkertons, more militia, stronger bank vaults and safes, and the proper thing to do with the other class of anarchists is, to hang them as fast as nimble policemen can get or manufacture evidence to convict and sheriffs' ropes to hang them. We thus have, as the antipodes of the situation, the refuse of both the robbed and the robbers of labor.

Of the two classes of anarchists the second is the more respectable, influential and powerful and therefore the more dangerous to the civilization of to-day. As usual in such a case, the golden mean of right, justice and truth, lies between the two extremes. Both are in part right; both are fundamentally and destructively wrong. Destruction lies in following the path and policy of either to their natural results. The first class are right, when they say that great injustice is done labor and it is deprived of its just reward under the existing order of things. They are wrong when they say there is no good in it, and it all ought to be destroyed so there will be no head to government, or no government as anarchy means. It simply means a return to the law of force, when each man is a law unto himself. The world has had too much of that in the past to go back through centuries of blood, ashes and tears to it again. Bad, as the situation to-day may be it is bad enough, but in christendom is better than ever before in the world's history. The present is the first century in the history of the world, when the injustice of which labor has a right to complain, had a hearing at the bar of an intelligent public opinion. When there was such a forum, at which to have a hearing. Never before was then a general intelligence to which an argument on the subjects of land, transportation and money could be addressed. It has taken centuries of toil, tears, revolution and counter revolutions, sacks, ashes and bloody fields, for us to struggle, by stages of pain and suffering up to our present imperfect and in many instances grossly unjust administration of law and distribution of wealth. But the language of history, reason, statesmanship and philanthropy is, hold all the ground you have. But that does not argue there is no advance position to be gained; or that here and now our laws, customs and institutions, warped, dwarfed, deformed by the ignorance, superstition and beastial, narrow minded greed of the past, shall chrystalize, set and stiffen, as it were, in a frost, and thus put a period to civilized rational growth. Rather when the taint and virus of injustice that lingers in our systems of acquiring and holding property are discovered it is the part of candor, common honesty, patriotism and good sense, to admit it.

Not only that but make actual good faith effort to correct it. It must be done; it is an actual political necessity it be. Let us have faith in the good sense, the sense of justice, the patriotism of mankind, especially the American people.

They will, in due time, take both classes of anarchists in hand and set them aright. In our opinion it is not in the power of either or both these classes to bring this country to the state of violence and anarchy that would be the natural result of the policy recommended by each. If the necessity for a just distribution of wealth exists to-day, it is a potent fact that no matter on what basis or how often a distribution of it be made, if the original causes that destroyed the equatian of justice between labor and capital remaining with unabated vigor, the same causes under like circumstances, in sure succession, will reproduce the same results. Hence it is the part of prudence to find out, if we can, what are these causes, these generators of injustice, these destroyers of civilization; for such they are if they assist in robbing labor of its just reward. For the means that does it destroys at the same time the incentive to intelligent, cheerful, effective labor, and that destroys the resources of civilization.

Labor is the rank and file, the vanguard, the provision train, the depot of supplies, the all to civilization. Thus under this topic are presented two great subjects of inquiry: 1. What are the causes that to-day destroy the equation of justice between labor and capital? 2. What is the remedy?

The first great cause that conduces to the end and that alone would do it, is the assumption that capital, as such, has a right to *accretion* and *increase*.

The assertion of the proposition that capital, as such, has no right to accretion and increase, will be pronounced by the second class of anarchists the essense of anarchy, communism, and all the other "isms" they think will injure the truth. Its truth will be doubted by many candid and earnest minds at first. All our practice and the accepted assertion, and little thought have so long been to the contrary, it almost shocks us at first. Just as nature's beverage, pure cold water, is flat, insipid and even nauseating to the parched and abnormal system of the toper. But in the forum of an enlightened and quickened public mind and conscience we confidently take the affirmative of the proposition:—

CAPITAL, AS SUCH, HAS NO RIGHT TO ACCRETION AND INCREASE.

In the first place, let us understand just what the proposition means. Capital is the collected, aggregated fruits of labor. A man may be called a capitalist who owns enough of it so his income from it, without being supplemented by his actual, daily, systematic labor, will support him and those directly dependent on him, without in any way diminishing the principal, or actual investment, under present laws. Such a man does not "eat his bread in the sweat of his face;" he eats it in the "sweat" of his capital; he eats his bread in the sweat of other men's faces. And just what is intended to be

and is asserted is, no man has a right to do it.

(1.) There is but one agency on earth can or does produce capital, that is actual human labor. The hands and brains that produce it have the first right to it; no just man will deny it.

"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread" all admit is the natural and Christian's belief, the divine law.

It does not read "in the sweat of thy" neighbor's face. If "all men are created equal" politically, as we claim, the produceer has the first right to the fruits of the toil of his hands; and that right is inherently as perfect in one man as another. And no man has the right to such fruits until he renders to the "owner" an equal good, and if under the established order of things one man or class of men of ordinary ability and intelligence, are doomed to daily incessant toil for an actual existence; and another man or class of men riot daily, free from all such toil and hardship, then injustice is on the face of it unless both the following propositions are true. (1). That all men of ordinary ability are by the very nature of things in this world doomed to such toil and privation to exist. (2). And second the class of men who daily riot in the fruits of the toil of other men's hands and are exempt from such toil, have multiplied capacity, so that one day of their toil is equal in value to that of a hundred or a thousand day's toil of other men.

And we all know both propositions are false and the fact stands out clearly, one class of men do acquire the fruits of other's toil and do not in fact render an equal good for it. How do they do it? What right have they to do it? (2). Capital is dead; it is produced. Unaided by labor it not only is unproductive, but actually wastes away and returns to the elements from which it was created by labor.

And in a state of society it is or ought to be, in process of time eaten up by taxes and other burdens of civil government. Labor can do better without capital, than capital can without labor. The mutual necessity of uniting their forces and advantages is actually greater upon capital than labor. A lunatic, an idiot, a Vanderbilt can inherit and "own" millions of capital; "own" telegraph and railroad lines, boats and millions of bonds and currency. But it takes the clear eye, the trained cool well-balanced brains, the skillful hands, the true, brave, honest hearts of thousands of laboring men "to operate his property" for a living, day by day, and turn over the millions "income" to this human cuttle-fish, that can't even count the millions, he "owns." Mr. Vanderbilt is only referred to as a sample of a class.

These people are his bondsmen and bondswomen. How does he thus command all the fruits of their daily toil in the main, all but a little, if any more than enough for subsistence, in a respectable way, while actually engaged in his service? By an "income," on his dead, rusty, musty millions, his surfeited, heavy body and stupid brain, don't even enable him to count. In the work-shop of the world this despot type of a despotic class puts his "property" he

"owns" but never saw his dead, rusty, musty millions, to labor over against five thousand bright, beautiful, intelligent, women and men; day by day he sits in his nickel-plated palace and nurses his gout and teases his vertigo and keeps his millions at hard labor, day in and day out, and keeps his five thousand bright, beautiful intelligent, loved and loving and living bondsmen and women daily at work against his dead capital, and then at the end of the year this "owner" of dead capital has beaten God's image, warm human flesh, brain, heart and blood. It has "earned" enough to live and commence on another year, but all its production, earnings, "income" over that are added to his dead capital, and they start in next year with the odds more against labor, than before. (3). Where capital accumulates it is not from an increase of the sum total of existing wealth. Unaided capital can create nothing—cannot in fact exist. When it increases it is only accretion, like riparian additions, or snow clinging to a ball, rolled over the ground. The ball is larger, but there is no more snow. Its increase can come from no other source than appropriating the fruits of unrequited toil (4). This puts an unnatural a relentless competitor in the field with labor, for its reward. And if capital as such has gain, it must be out of labor's just reward. And the "earnings" of capital, under the existing order of things must come with the certainty and the regularity of the duration of time. But labor's reward stands all the chances and vicissitudes of natural conditions and laws. And in the diversified ramifications in the business of the world where capital "earns" its "income" by usury, labor is compelled to become, not only an insurance company for the preservation and the return of the capital, principal but actually to insure an actual "earning" and "income," on the capital. Labor, so far, is the only insurance company that takes such "risks." (5.) The man who owns capital more than he needs for present use, or may be, more than he and those dependent on him can use during their natural lives, for the ordinary necessities and luxuries, is already at an advantage over the mass of his fellow men. The protection of his wealth is in itself a burden on society; he may pay for this in taxes. But it is enough that even with this he and his are protected and the principal of his unemployed capital be preserved, for him and his use by his fellow men. So that if he does not choose to supplement his capital with the tax on himself of actual toil and labor, he shall be compelled to annually draw on the principal, and his fellow men not be compelled to guarantee a return, an "income" upon it. "For he that will not labor neither shall he eat." Or, if he has *capital* and does not *labor*, make him eat off of it, instead of off the unrequited toil of his fellow men. There is no injustice in that. It is nature's, it is God's, it ought to—it will in the near future be—man's law. Even then he would be an actual burden on society, quartered on it, a dead-head, for his support, as long as he or his dead capital lasted. But that would be better than the existing order, that enables him by his "income" on his dead capital to thus quarter him and his on it for-

ever. (6.) If one class of men in society, the "capitalist" class as herein defined, are permitted to thus quarter themselves on the rest of their fellow men, when and where is the end to be? Where is the rule, what is the law? One of the tests of the truth and justice of a rule of conduct, or a human law, is, if it is right and just it can be made general—be made to apply to all—and still conduce to the general welfare, the common good, the greatest good to the greatest number. You can think of examples and make the test yourself. And as to one that is wrong and unjust, the same test brings it to an "*reductio ad absurdum.*"

If it is right a man shall have "income" on loaned or unemployed capital, that is, that he does not supplement with his actual attention and daily labor, suppose he has $100,000 invested in bonds at five per cent. and has a commodious home with all the necessary appointments besides, his income is $5,000 per year without an actual engagement in any of the daily avocations of life to gain a livelihood. He has a family, he and all are reasonably able to support themselves, as the masses of mankind are compelled to do. But he calls his family round him on a New Year's day and says: "We are now situated so none of us need engage in the laborious employments in which the mass af mankind are compelled to engage for a living. If we do labor at all it will only be for pastime. Wife, you superintend the domestic, the servants and household affairs. Daughter, you can choose the means of gaining the accomplishments that best suit our tastes and fits yau to capture and marry a foreign snob. Son, you can go to Harvard and learn to "row," and the latest arguments in defense of usury, by means of which we "eat our bread in the sweat" of other men's faces. And I will watch the markets and chances for speculation in corner lots." And all the care they need have to continue this establishment and order of things to son, son's son after him, is to live each year in the limits of the "income." In a word, to make it last as long as the present order of things. That is to say, that man and his establishment are quartered upon the laboring class of mankind *ad infinitum.* His $100,000 *labors;* he sweats in it by *proxy*, to offset the actual sweat of the faces of at least forty common laboring men and women. That man and his family are *pensioners*, exempt from all the toil and annoyances of common mortals. And at present status, with the right to "income," accumulation and increase on c pital, as such, it is to last *forever.* And if one man and his family have a right to do so, all may. Or why not? Let us see. If it is right and just, and it is a desirable state; if labor is not thus robbed of its just reward, and it still labors and gains on, then it will slowly gain its reward; and one by one, as reward for lives of fidelity and industry, the laborer, as that man, or his ancestors are supposed to have done, will, one by one, pass into the favored and desirable state. At last one-half of the population are exempt from human toil. The same process goes on. Finally three-fourths are there. The remaining one-fourth of the population do all the labor. We are coming to the

millenium now. Finally all have passed into that favored class; nobody performs the common toil; production and preparation of the means on which the capital class subsists cease for one year, and what do we have? An *reductio ad absurdum*—the rule is absolutely false, unjust—it confers special privileges on a class; the unjust advantage of it can only be enjoyed by a class, a favored few, at a time. But suppose we take the other horn of the dilemma; the proposition for which we contend. "That capital as such has no right to accretion and increase." The first change would be the cutting off that $5,000 "income," the "income," the increase over actual living of the labor of about forty ordinary laboring men and women, and leave it in the hands that earned it to gladden their lives and homes. But the next change is a most distressing one.

Our family of "pensioners" would be reduced to the extremity of one or the other of two necessities. The first one would be actually go to work like common mortals and earn their bread by the sweat of their *own* brows; or the alternative is enough to make angels weep and Vanderbilt swear again at "them asses," as he denominates "the masses." Yes, actually they would have to go to work and do something for a living, or to continue the establishment, at its former status, be compelled to draw on the principal at the rate of $5,000 per year. And at that rate it would only last twenty years. And in that time, the heads of the family might not have died with choler, surfeit, gout, vertigo and appoplexy, and Adolphus Augustus and Victoria Gerusha would not each of them be able to start in with an establishment each like their now short-winded and testy old ancestor.

And that would be sore distress and labor, God's poor would begin to come up out of the filthy dens and holes, down out of its ærial dwellings, in rickety attics, right up and down on the surface of God's green earth—right where he intended human beings should live, and commence to make them comfortable homes. And that would be another distressing situation. But now to the contrary, all the conditions point labor the other way. The assessment lists of this country in 1840 showed there were only three persons in the United States estimated to be the "owner" of $1,000,000 of property. In 1884 the same source of information showed we now have 3,500 millionaires and more coming every day.

Well may intelligent labor tremble, when it looks at that "pension roll." New England daily becomes more and more like old England. It is now estimated that three per cent of the property holders of the five New England States own more property than the other ninety-seven. (7.) If capital as such is permitted to become a competitor with labor for its daily and yearly reward a reflecting mind must see at a glance that labor is daily and yearly by its actual toil, contributing to the force and fund that competes, with it and it actually is thus self-destroying; and in the end it must be reduced to the minimum hope and extremity. Its existence and prospect is a vanishing one. It daily and yearly produces capital;

daily and yearly, dead though it be, capital turns upon and devours the fruits of labor. There can in the end be but one outcome to the situation. It cannot but be reduced to greater and greater extremities under the present order. To illustrate, a laborer works three hundred days in the year at two dollars per day. At that rate he can little if any more than live; he has no hope of ever gaining upon it. His labor is at least worth one dollar per day to the capitalist, or he would not pay two. The laborer thus adds three hundred dollars per year at least to the wealth of the capitalist and gains himself no capital or even a competency for old age. And the next year the capitalist demands "income" on the three hundred added by him the year before, with his other capital. And this is true, whether the labor as expended actually added three hundred dollars "income" to the actual capital of the employer or was expended merely to preserve his existing capital. For labor is under no obligation to preserve it for him. And suppose he labors twenty years at this rate; he has added to or preserved the capital of the employer to the sum of $6,000. "Income" on this sum at the rate of five per cent is $300 per year on the capital side of the ledger—a personage, a potency, as able to "earn" and ten times as certain to demand "income" as he was even in his youth, and now he is ready to die; but this potency, this personage lives forever to compete with his son and his son's son after him. What of the prospect? What of the night for labor? (8). It violates the laws of nature and depraves both the laborer and capitalist.

A human being cannot acquire mental or physical superiority without labor; if he has acquired, he cannot retain either without labor. "There is no excellence without great labor." It vitiates the mind and depraves the body of those who from generation to generation take something for nothing. It makes their bodies soft, effeminate, passionate, appetites depraved; causes them to become licentious, cowardly, cruel, tyrannical. They die of over-eating, drinking, of surfeit, gout, vertigo; in a word, for want of systematic exercise in healthful labor.

Nature's laws cannot be violated, for a life-time, from generation to generation with impunity. Her avenger will find the delinquents, the culprits, immured in their palaces—clad in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day. It will rack them on their downy beds amid their rich tapestry and make them long and pray for the healthful appetite and sound refreshing sleep of a laborer. But on the other hand excess of labor destroys home and hearth-stone cheerfulness; makes the laborer stiff, crooked, cheerless, churlish and dwarfed in mind and body of which the tyranny of Europe daily delivers us samples. The system as usual is a curse to the oppressor and the oppressd, the robbers and the robbed. It makes the rich richer and the poor poorer; it makes Dives at one end of the line and Lazarus at the other. It sets and daily widens the great gulf between them. It justly causes dissatisfaction to labor; it blots hope from its horizon, causes its view of the

future to be a vanishing prospect. Indeed judging the future by the past it has, it can have no hope.

Second. What is the remedy? We have tried to diagnose the case in general. Any quack can tell a man he is sick when he lies moaning before him.

It is another thing to prescribe a true remedy. To do it intelligently the nature and location of the disease must be ascertained. If not, the remedy is given by chance and at a venture. Neither class of anarchists prescribe a reasonable remedy, for neither of them state the true cause of disease. One asserts there is incurable disease, the other there is none.

Each extreme would destroy each other and all between them. There is no hope from either of them. Both must be themselves governed. We have seen that the assumption that dead capital has a right to, and can, and does "earn" an "income" is wrong. It is wrong in principle. It cannot be modified to be right. No compromise can be with it on greed's side the line of absolute justice. It forebodes evil to both labor and capital; it now *strains* their relations to about the last degree of tension. There must, there will, there has in some instances come a break. The present order of things cannot exist. It violates human nature, natural, material and *divine law*. We do not say this as a threat; we say it in sorrow; not that a change will come, but that there is a necessity it shall come. We say it in the light of the laws of compensation, in human and all nature, in the light of the page of history. "For ever the right comes uppermost and ever is justice done."

But for the remedy. A physician looks first at the age and condition of his patient. If of an age and condition that indicate recent and remaining strength, he knows the patient has some constitution left, on which to build. He knows, too, the present abnormal and diseased condition comes from some comparatively recent violation of the laws of health. The first thing to do is, if such violation still continues, to stop it. This, usually, is sufficient treatment in such a case.

Our patient, the Body Politic, is sick. It has the taint and virus in its system incident to a violation of the laws of justice and political health. It is in a dropsical or some such condition; at least it is all running to stomach. The circulation, all the other energies, the hands, the feet, the whole system is unduly taxed to support the stomach. It daily grows to untoward proportions and all other members and functions are dwarfed. The feet and legs, the hands and arms of labor cannot support and feed it. It is a big, short-winded, dizzy-headed, apoplectic, wheezy old *stomach* on legs, and threatens to sit down flat and helpless on the road of progress. The labor anarchists say, amputate its head, because it does not move on faster; the capital anarchists say, amputate its feet, because it threatens to move at all. So it never can move. The patient is not stricken with old age; it is disease. True is a disease of which all its ancestors died at about its age. But it still has

constitution left; there is yet hope; it is dying of over-eating and costiveness. It is all run to teeth, gullet and stomach. It all comes of the violation of natural laws, of justice and political health. Its eating "income" and "increase" on capital, aggravates and generates its unholy greed to still eat more. Its habits of permitting the stomach (capital) to keep all it gets and shift its just proportion of taxes and burdens of government, aggravate its disease of costiveness. What is the remedy? Stop its unearthly, beastly, grave-like hunger and eating. Teach the patient it has something else than teeth, gullet and stomach; that its other members want to, and by the grace of God they will, live.

Deplete that stomach by giving the patient a healthy dose of "income tax;" that will help deplete it so it may soon actually be able to stand on its feet and take a few steps in advance. Use these remedies, and time and nature, in a grander man and womanhood will do the rest.

But as to time and manner of remedy in particular, as applied by law in practice, we will refer the reader to the different subjects as they follow. At this point we are told "capital is timid," it will not venture upon "investment" without "inducement" and absolute "safety." We are aware of that; "timidity" is not the proper name; it is "tyranny." But, in fact, its timidity is that of a freight train with no engine, or a baggage and provision train with no mules and drivers. Both would stand, and rust and rot down into the earth if not laid hold of, preserved and used by the energetic hand of labor. The destructive and tyrannical "timidity" of capital is not based in, nor does it arise out of, any natural advantage, superiority or law, the law of God or nature, moral or material. It grows out of the vicious, artificial, destructive assumption we have been discussing, that capital, as such, has a right to accretion and increase.

If you will permit me to assume a false premise and standpoint from which to reason and make *law*, I can prove anything and make any moral wrong legally right. If labor is compelled to offer all its reward to capital to "induce" it to "invest"—to permit it to live and do its drudgery, its actual labor—human foresight and self-preservation would suggest, better desist and try one generation at least, and see if we cannot exist just as well without the labor. *Capital* has been on an organized "strike" in the use of legal and peaceable means for many. We will try it for one generation. Better let the canals fill up, the railroad grades wash down, the telegraph poles tumble, the water craft rot at the docks, the improvements of lands go back to a state of nature, than daily and yearly yield all the reward of labor to those who turn it energized, by a false assumption and system on its creator. After one generation of such a "strike" labor would once more be respectable. Capital would not be so "timid." It would be seen that actual human labor is actually of some value. Or, if not, the country would go back, so far as material wealth is concerned, to comparatively a primitive

state, and the laborer then would exist better than now, on half the exertion. And then, and now, labor has all to gain and nothing to lose, and all the chances would be in favor of a start upon a more respectable and favorable basis on the new order of things. And labor has just the same right, yea, more, for with it it would be self-defense to thus organize and for one generation to come, agree simply to live, to exist, as it has done and is now doing, and refuse to lay a hand to one of the enterprises we have mentioned and let them go back into the earth, that capital has to organize, as it has done, and lay hold of the law-making, interpreting and executing functions of society and government and use them to rob labor of its just reward. Labor has as much moral, legal and political right (and more natural right) to grow "timid" and demand "inducement and safety to invest" as capital. It has the natural right to grow both "timid and *tired* in view of its daily and yearly diminishing and vanishing prospect. In this country it will not show the foresight, independence and blood of its fathers if it does not. Capital, as such, has no right to demand anything more of labor than that, when labor uses it, labor shall assume the payment of the burdens of taxation on it while used, preserve and give security and assurance for the return of the principal intact to the "owner." For even then the "owner" has the advantage from every view of the situation. The rights of "owner" of property and capital are created, conferred and protected by society. Every right and advantage to which a man may justly succeed in society has its correlative burden. The incidents of advantage that an "owner" of capital has are two:

(1). The right to use and consume it as he chooses, so by doing it he does not injure society or others. A man has no right to wantonly burn his own house or destroy his own property.

(2.) To use it as an investment, to not only preserve the original sum, but make additions and increase, by supplementing it with his daily attention and toil.

The burden incident to the first right as owner is that of taxation and the risk of holding it; that risk as claimed by insurance companies is at the rate of from one to two and one-half per cent per annum.

The burdens incident to the second right of the owner, that of investment, are all just named, and in addition thereto, the risk of his time and labor and the vicissitudes incident to gain and loss from the markets and natural law. If the owner chooses not to occupy either relation of "holder" or "invester," of his capital, but to loan it, he shifts all these burdens on to the borrower.

(1). The risk of holding and insuring the return of the capital principal.

(2). The burden of taxation on it and the risk of investment and the loss of his time and labor, perhaps all the capital he actually owns. So that even on this basis he is "servant to the lender" and may serve him for no reward. All his investment is at sea, depend-

ent upon wind, tide, wet, drouth, lightning, peace, war, bad or no market, he stands a chance to actually lose all his investment of time and labor; the lender in no event can lose anything he actually ever had, has been and is released from burdens of taxation and risk of holding it; and has been free with his time and labor to use it, as he chooses. They are still both men, although one is "owner" and "lender" and the other is a borrower; the one ought not be the better or the other the worse off as to his rights, as a man, before the law for that. And when their relations as lender and borrower are regulated upon the basis here contended for, still the lender will not then do to others, as he would they should do to him. Even *then* the chances are against the borrower.

CHAPTER X.

LAND AND LAND TENURE.

A great potent physical law as irresistible as the law of gravitation and three great facts generated by it, crowd upon us great moral and political questions and issues that put our civilization to a crucial test. The law is the obedience of the race to the natural and divine command, "go forth, multiply and replenish the earth." The three generated facts are: 1. That under the present comparative, peace and order of society the race is prolific. 2. Under these conditions populations are growing dense. 3. Nature does not spontaneously produce enough to subsist a dense population; it can only be done by the toil of human hands. Land is the basic fact of animal existence. Man is an animal if he is no more; he draws his subsistence from the earth in common with the other animals.

If he is no more than an animal he has the natural right to room on the face of the earth to live and subsist; and the right is as perfect in one man as another. And if he cannot have it without, he has the natural right to contend, fight for and take it by force. If there is actually room for all and some are crowded because others occupy more than they need and naturally belongs to them, there is the more reason he should contend. If there is not actually room he will contend and the law of force and the "survival of the fittest" will be the law, so that if we are only animals to live our brief allotted time, human prudence, foresight and self-preservation would suggest that we be neighborly and good natured and adjust ourselves to our new surroundings. For bad temper and bad nature makes bad neighbors, and it takes more room to live fighting than in peace—especially when our neighbors threaten to make room with gunpowder and dynamite. But, if we are more than animal, if this earth is only a propagating sphere of souls destined to live and think and feel and know forever, as Christians believe (or pretend

to), and these souls are effected here by the acts and conduct of their fellows and thus are developed and beautified or dwarfed and deformed and thus receive birth-marks that shall last forever, are the natural rights that would belong to man as an animal diminished or made less perfect by these considerations? The gospels of temporal and eternal salvation go hand in hand. Christ taught both; he said one human being, politically at least, is as good as another, when he said to all of them "do to others as ye would they should do to you." Men have stomachs as well as souls; they do not want a man or men, or church to tell them how to save their souls who conspire to and support laws and institutions that rob their bodies. Dwarfed, starved bodies make dwarfed, starved souls. If we are the offspring of an intelligent Father, who loves mercy, justice and his offspring, it is his will, we shall each have living and subsisting room to develop all the capacities of our being, and he must know, as well as we, "that a healthy mind must have its foundation, in a healthy body." We must believe there actually is such room on the earth for all his children; or that he cannot, or does not direct these matters. As a matter of fact we know there is ample room. To admit he does not direct, or care for our well being, is to concede all contended for by the unbelievers; is to concede that he creates one class to "discover," "pre-empt" "own" and occupy the earth, with dogs, game, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, for hunting and grazing grounds; and another class to hang on the ragged edge of existence, suspended between heaven and earth, as if unfit for either, by that brittle thread, a "landlord's lease." Living to labor and laboring to live. One man to "own" a million acres and a million men to own no acre. One man to riot daily, yearly, for generations in the fruits of the toil of hundreds of men better before the laws of God and man than himself. Convince me such is the will and legacy left to us, as his offspring, and my Bible goes to the owls and bats to swell the heap of musty "isms" of the world's history. Then would Christ's words "do to others as ye would they should do to you" be the coldest irony. It cannot be believed much less practiced by an intelligent Christian. The fact of dense populations is crowding Christian civilization in at the gates of one or the other of two forums; the forum of reason and justice, when men in obedience to law consent to do their to fellows as they would their fellows, to reverse the situation, should do to them; or, the forum when they refuse to do that, and from whose unjust decrees men sooner or later appeal to arms and the law of force. There is no matter of choice about it; we may mouth, and demagogues deal in euphonious consonants and glittering generalities to dull the public ear and hush into a drowse, but the surging tide of humanity, like the surf of the incoming tide and the moaning sea, crowds us daily, hourly, closer and closer, to a choice of the two. The situation is upon us—the filling up process is a stubborn, actual fact. They are crowding in—you may growl, you may hop on one foot with your corns of prejudice and selfishness in your hand and scowl and make

wry faces, and hurl political anathemas, maranthas and curses. But they will only smile at your simplicity and come right on, right in and suggest you keep your corns in a more diminutive circle. Congress can limit or suspend the coinage of silver, and the issue of currency to enable the usurer to more effectively rob labor of its just reward; but it cannot "repeal" the law "go forth, multiply and replenish the earth." It goes on—it is the fiat of nature and nature's God, and the man and class of men who refuse to accept the new situation, the altered relation of things will find their situation daily becoming more and more uncomfortable. Civilization means a place for everybody and every body in his place. Why tell men to "multiply" and "replenish the earth" if it is now too full.

The short-winded, short-sighted, big girted, little hat-band class of men in this country and Europe who want to "own" all the land joining them, or a million acres apiece, ought to send in a remonstrance to and demand repeal of that law. The police order of modern society is, straighten, even if you have to stand up; take in your toes, your long, crooked, ungainly shanks; if you have corns look well to them, for the rest of mankind are too busy trying to live to do it, or stumble over or around you. You go to concert, lecture or theatre; you get your ticket, your place, your section, your chair; you get in the wrong "pew" or chair and you get "bounced!"—you must take your own place and stay in it; then you are comfortable and safe; you get out, you get a quarrel and ejected, or like a bore, impose on the gentility of those who have more of the common decencies of mankind than yourself. Did you ever enter a crowded church when a big man took the aisle end of a pew and stuck to it like a postage stamp, and made men, women and children crowd or tumble over his knees and eleven brogans?

The porcus of human nature will expose itself in all these minor relations of life. Of course the tame porcus who here is offensive only in his little meanness, in other and greater interests and relations of life, roused from the lair of his special privileges and advantages and asked to do to others as he would they should do to him becomes the wild boar of the wildwood; his hair all stands the other way—he walks crossed-legged and side-wise; his tusks and foam and odor are ominous. A dense population, per force of circumstances, puts us on our good behavior; drives the individuals of society to an observance of "the better angels of our nature," to fidelity to these laws. Its existence depends on the contest waged between fidelity and infidelity to them. Fidelity to them is the preservative, the "salt," the infidelity, the negative, the destructive tendency and disease; and if "its salt hath lost its savor wherewith shall it be salted," or saved? "It is henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under the foot of men" and it will be done in obedience to the laws of human nature. As soon as one of these elements of society, the saving or the destructive one, gains a clear mastery over the other and the conditions all tend in the one or the other direction, the destiny of the community or nation in

that regard is fixed; and it goes on its course like a planet in its orbit, in obedience to law. Jesus laid the foundation for the civilization of the future, in his gospel of temporal salvation, in the words to "do to others as ye would they should do to you." That rule cannot harm a human being. In violation of it, every relation of man to man may be violated and not only the civilization of to-day, but the race itself be destroyed.

Inside the rule is human finity and affinity, human safety and justice. Outside of it is infinity, repulsion, human danger and injustice and consequent appeal to force. That rule and standard settles the rights of the parties in every relation, in every case. He who is too short will be stretched; he who is too long will be *amputated*. A dense population will elbow and trample the individual until, if he cognizes no other, he will the law of force. For they are here, they have come to stay—they will insist on thinking they have a right to room to stay, and they will crowd him to somewhere near that rule, or he will have to crowd them out. That is an appeal to force anarchy. And he is the worst anarchist in society to-day, the most dangerous one, who claims most and concedes fewest rights to his fellow men.

And he is the first one with whom it ought and for sake of self-preservation it will be compelled to deal. A moment's thought by a clear and unselfish mind will make this apparent. The man who deliberately and intelligently claims and demands rights and advantages in society, he refuses to concede to others, challenges them to accept one of two situations he and his class force on them. First, submit to his unjust exactions, or second, resist them with force.

Nature suggests and revelation sanctions the "home;" here the circle, the conditions for the propagation of the race are completed; in both it is the holy of holies.

There the first lessons of mine and thine are learned by lisping prattlers at the mother's knees. There the first lessons of self-denial and self-government are taught.

There republican self-government is enthroned or dethroned in the hearts of the people. It is the atom of our civilization. If the atom of the tissue and the molecules of the blood are formed under unnatural and diseased conditions they must be depraved and the whole body become sick.

In the home natural love and affections grow, if at all, and shed their fragrance in all the relations in life, in society, and stimulate to habits of temperance, morality and industry. The first thing blighted by the influence of a dissolute man or woman is the home. There womanhood sheds sweetest fragrance, childhood knows its sweetest joys; innocence is a perfume and guilt a stench; there manhood is made grave, grand, broad and deep in all that is best in us. "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune." —Bacon. Read the history of the race as it has struggled for civil and religious liberty.

Its pennons were carried over the moats and bulwarks of ignor-

ance, superstition and conservative tyranny by the hands of grand men who came from virtuous homes lighted by love's watch fires. It never was confided to the hands of the homeless, the ignorant marauders, licentious libertines or slaves of avarice. Conservative tyranny and greed always marshals that hessian and savory host under its banners

A human home of comfort and respectability cannot be made in a den beneath or in an attic above the surface of the earth. If we credit holy writ, the first pair were not so located, but "in the midst of the garden to dress and keep it." The same breeze that rustled the leaves of the tree of "the knowledge of good and evil," fanned the cheek and lifted the golden tresses of bright, beautiful Eve.

The same sunlight that fell on its rich pregnant soil, fell on the manly form of Adam, and both drank from the same limpid fountains in which the birds of paradise bathed their beaks and plumage. At this point our picture will be blotted by a suggestion of the "apple," the ejectment, the "flaming sword" and the "curse" by the pleader for special privileges.

For man's sake the earth was cursed; we do not understand the curse was on man. He was ejected from the inside of the garden and innocent nakedness and life. But at the same time got a deed to all outside, with only two limitations in the granting clause: first that "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread;" second, "multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it," and along with this, death. Physical death was a necessary corollary of "multiplying;" for without it we now would not have standing or subsisting room, and our special pleader for special privileges would not be allowed a rod square of land. It is remarkable with what unanimity in all ages of the world, those who claim more for themselves than they are willing to concede to others, and with what fond and simple assurance they cling to the "curses" of the bible.

"Cursed is Ham" from the lips of maudlin old Noah 800 B. C. was volumes of excuse for whipping women and selling babies in the eighteenth Christian century. Tell the Christian usurer, the Jew was not permitted under Mosaic law to take usury from a Jew and that Jesus said "I came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfill;" and he will inform you the Jew could take from the "stranger" or gentile. Then tell him Paul and Peter and the rest said there is no more "Jew or gentile," and he will inform you, he only takes eight per cent. It is natural and consonant with the dictates of human greed. Special privileges mean general curse. It is logical—the one follows the other. One grows out of the other as toad-stools on a dung-hill. It is the logic of events.

If there is an intelligent Father and Creator of us all He intended we should be civilized.

He is grieved at our miserable or degraded condition, at least as much as we would be at beholding our offspring, in such a state. Civilization is his designing and appointment. If its humanizing

and refining influences and results are pleasing to us, they are much more so to Him.

If it is of his appointment it behooves us as professed christians to study the law and conditions under which it flourishes and thrives or languishes and dies. And the man or men who wilfully violate its laws and conditions are misanthropes and enemies to God and the race. What is it, then? In what does it consist? The name or word is derived from a Latin one, *civies*, a name applied by the ancient Romans to the dwellers in the cities and towns of that day, to distinguish them from the rude, untamed rustics of the country. It is a taming process; it consists in a state, a condition, a disposition of mind of men toward their fellows. If we go to a tribe so wild they flee from us, like the deer, we must first tame them to get in ear-shot; show them we mean them no harm; inspire them with faith, confidence, trust, that we wish and bring them only good. Faith, confidence, trust, is the foundation of civilization, as it is of every moral and material good. After gaining their confidence the next lesson to teach them is the difference between *mine* and *thine*. That seems to be about the last lesson men as citizens learn; even so-called civilized men are liable to become confused at this point. Savage men cannot at first understand that those who cannot resist them with brute force have rights of person and property, they ought to respect In such a community, and among such men, woman, because of her defenselessness, is always made a menial and the means of gratifying beastly lust. They have always had but one court in which to try their mat ers of difference—that is the court of force and strong right arms. To civilize them they must be taught there is a higher, a nobler, a more humane and God-like tribunal to which all such differences must be submitted; that is, the forum of reason and justice, where all men's rights are sacred and no one will or can demand, as a right, more than he will concede. Civilization is the reign of mind and justice; barbarism is the reign of brute force and muscle. The one is reign of brain and heart, the other the reign of brawn and stomach. Our civilization still is a mixed one, and the page of history is a dark, bloody, tear-stained one.

Ignorant, savage men, are ever distrustful—they distrust each other; they take no prisoners or practice the parole of honor in war; they must have hostages in time of peace. Even the eclipse and other manifestations of nature are to them harbingers of evil. They are dark and bloody-minded and clannish. The tendency is to disintegration—against society—to go on dividing and isolating until each would be a tribe by himself. He then concludes his political horizon is the limit of all human and political good, the end of the world; he is the center of the universe and it all revolves round him. The light of knowledge let in on his benighted mind changes the lenses in the field-glass of his observations and reverses his view of himself and surroundings. Instead of the hub he sees he is only a

spec on the ocean of matter and eternity, and dependent on all around him.

The civilization of the past has been temporary, short lived, ephemeral, as its ruins scattered along the road of the race in antiquity testify. Most of the history of the past is made up of accounts of invasions made and repelled, of conquests and reconquests; war over the "succession," whether this or that bigoted, stubborn blockhead shall wear a bauble called a crown. The national policies of the past have been against all *outside* rather than for all *inside* the boundary lines.

Politically the civilized world is in a tranformation period. New conditions are rife in the political atmosphere; it indicates a fluctuating moral barometer that forebodes a storm. There will soon be a series of political cyclones; the magnetic and electrical powers of free thought, silently, but nevertheless uncontrolably, are gathering head; it will soon strike and demolish edifices of special privileges, and greed and hobbies of the past.

New ideas, like hatching chickens, have grown too large for the antiquated laws, customs and institutions moulded in the ignorance and greed of the past. Whole broods of them are pecking their way out; others are just out, with pieces of the shell yet on them; more still are coming. Heretofore national policy has been one that busied itself with all *outside* its own boundaries.

But the logic of events is driving the nations of christendom to consider matters of inside rather than outside policy. Populations have multiplied and taken on tangible, sensitive forms, that fill their boundaries as a body fills a garment. Inside policy must engage the attention of the statesman of the future. To Europe no new world opens, to excite the cupidity and rapacity of its monarchs. Its crowded populations surge in ebulitions of discontent. On this side the Atlantic the saying, "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country," has lost its enticing charm.

The day of conquest nd acquisition of territory has past. The day of planting, pruning and filling up has come. The questions of the future is not, how large shall our boundaries be, but how full can we fill them; not how many miles of area but how many population to the mile. It marks an era in the history of christendom and the world; a *new* civilization, or civilization under *new conditions*, is compelled to assert itself. Savage men cannot exist in a dense population. Society of the past has often given itself temporary relief by boiling over—by emigration into unoccupied territory. That source of relief is gone to-day. It is compelled to receive the shock of its ebulitions turned back upon itself. Like the sea it is compelled to purify itself or grow stagnant and life-destroying. The ever recurring question is, can it do it?

When there was not a man to a square mile the question of limitation of the ownership of land was below our political horizon. Then, if it flattered a man's vanity to claim and "own" all in sight or between him and the setting sun, it had the virtue, at least, of

innocence—it harmed no one. But that day has passed. Men now have come to claim their heritage and natural rights. The question rises on our horizon "like a man's hand" at first, but it rapidly assumes proportions that portend a storm. The million men with no acre question the title of the man with a million acres; they file ejectments against him in the forum of reason and justice—they urge the cause for trial. They say, "On what meat doth this one Cæsar feed that he hath grown so great?" His claims and ownership disinherit them of the rights of even animals. They would not be men if they did not commence to examine his title.

In this country the first link in his chain of title is that of "discovery;" in Europe it is clubs, spears and short swords. On this continent the next link is that of "pre-emption;" that is first buying of some form of government, or some body who got in sight of it first and laid hold of all in sight, like the passenger in the empty railway coach.

By these means, soulless, heartless corporations, "artificial persons" created by civil government, by men, have laid hold upon millions of acres and forbid natural persons created in God's image to enter; crowd them out into the highways and hedges down into dens beneath and up into attics above the surface of the earth. And they are still crowding into and after our public domain.

All the spawn of the effete, thick blooded, cowardly, insolent, royal and aristocratic scions of Europe and our own shoddy aristocracy think they must each and all be accomodated to a million acres and a "living;" they must all be provided for. There is now little or no room for them on the blood and tear-stained bone-yards, camps, forts and arsenals they have made of Europe. They must have room and foot-hold, to disinherit the sons and daughters of the Revolutionary Fathers of 1776—who founded the World's Republic.

And thus far they are having things about in accord with their own sweet wills. The successors of Washington in the presidential chair have bowed and scraped to them like shaving horses and handed out to them, sweet-scented, rose-tinted "Patents," of the public domain of the "land of the free and the home of the brave." This is not overdrawn; it is a bare statement of a shameful fact.

They possess and occupy with great complacency and the sons and daughters of Washington and the Revolutionary Fathers "stay if they can rent." These questions of land and land tenure always come up on the tidal wave of a dense population. It came on Rome in the 5th century, B. C.; she battled with and failed to settle it and it *settled* Rome. Ever since the contest between the "plebian" and the "patrician" has waged with varying fortune in different ages and countries.

The "patrician" is always the rich, the land owning, the encroaching, the tyrannizing class. The "plebian" is the poor, the disinherited, the assailed, the oppressed class. There is no longer any room for the owner of a thousand acres of land in the domain of Christendom.

Because first, he does not, no human being or family does need it and cannot use it any more than they need or can use one of the tributaries of the great rivers exclusively for drink.

And second, if they did and all others had or can acquire just as good right to that much land, there is not not enough to go round at that rate. The situation puts the cause on the docket and demands a trial in one or the other of the two forums. To-day we may choose in which it shall go, the court of reason and justice or the forum of dynamite and force. No use to shut our eyes and say there is no cause, no court has jurisdiction. Charles I. tried that—he denied the jurisdiction of the court; but that did not disturb the court; Charles only lost his head, that was all. The court stripped him of his royal toggery and in its presence he was nobody, but plain Charles Stuart. Louis XVI did the same—it did not prevent the cause going into court, the court of force, and his denying its jurisdiction did not in the least postpone the descent of the glittering blade of the guillotine on his royal neck.

Both of them had a day for peace, an opportunity "to agree with the adversary quickly, while they were in the way with him." Both refused to listen to reason or justice; both refused to accept and submit their cause to the jurisdiction and decree of that court.

Both appealed to the forum, the court of force, and they nor their friends have any cause to complain of the judgment of the court into which they by choice carried their cause; although its judgment and execution were somewhat summary, it would have been the same if they had been successful. Shall we profit by thier example? "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell" and the "patricians" of to-day will do well to profit by their example.

"I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided and that is the lamp of experience."

The "plebians" instead of a Brutus or a Cromwell, will have a Cincinnatus or a Washington; the "patrician's" cause may have a "Boston massacre" "Lexington" or "Concord," at the first; it will "sing Yankee Doodle as its ancestors did, undoubtedly it is doing it now; but in the end, in the outcome, in the "last ditch at Yorktown" it will be at the Cornwallis the surrender end of the situation. The language of temperance, philanthropy and patriotism is carry this cause, while we may, into the court of reason and justice. Stop our ears to the clamour of both the Herr Most and the Gould-Vanderbilt wings of the anarchist's factions. Do it before it is carried to the other court. No use to lag—no use to say there is no cause. The same cause came up to be tried between the church and state on one side and the people of France on the other. The people plead in rags, sack-cloth and ashes of poverty for generations with the "secular" and clerical "princes" the two orders, the church and state. Their pleading only inspired more insolence and robbery until in 1774 the secular and clerical "princes" and "orders" owned three-fifths of the best lands of France. The only relief granted by them to the down-trodden people and peasantry was to clasp their

arms together more closely and plant their feet more securely on their necks. Finally the people said, you spurn the court of reason and justice do you? You appeal to the court of force? So do we! Now try the cause in your own court. And the scenes that followed made the world stand aghast—the record is written in blood, tears and ashes.

A like cause came up for hearing in our own loved country; we were appealed to as a nation, to love, mercy and deal justly with a poor down-trodden people. As a nation we refused to do it in the forum of peace and justice. We paid dearly in blood, tears, treasure, ashes, vacant hearthstones and hearts. Shall the "lamp of experience" be of any use to us? Let us act the part of an intelligent, patriotic people. Admit there is a cause to be tried—admit it has merits—admit the "plebians" have cause for complaint—admit they have rights that must be better protected, by better law and better administration of it. Say to the masses of the people "come let us reason together," as just and reasonable men. Say to them no one has a right to demand and enforce special privileges; all ought, all must in all these matters do to others as they would others do to them. You have a right to the fruits of your labor and the right to make homes by your industry.

Of course this will not suit either wing of the anarchists factions, but it will be in accord with humane statesmanship.

And what is the remedy? In the first place it is not in taking from one man and giving to another for no equivalent rendered. As we have seen that is the very thing, the very wrong that has destroyed the equation of justice between labor and capital. "Two wrongs do not make one right." The question is capable of solution and justice can be done by an application of well-known and recognized principles.

For, although principles are eternal in their nature and are always the same, yet in the history of the civilization of the world all of them that are now acknowledged and are benign in influence, once, were new to it and the assertion of every such one has cost the race generations of civil and political travail, in blood and tears. The birth of each was a shock to society. If this cause can be met and the conflicting interests at stake determined by the application of recognized principles, it will be a great relief to society. It is a question and situation that cannot but create solicitude in the mind of the patriot and philanthropist.

And now we lay down this proposition, not as anything new, but so old it seems almost obsolete.

Actual occupation and use confers the only pre-eminent right and title to the exclusive possession of real estate on a human being. It is the only legitimate title by which one person may exclude others from possession of distinct portions of the earth. No human being ever rightfully acquired more, and none can convey any more or better title than they have. To show this is not new or an inno-

vation upon accepted and established principles, I now quote from Blackstone, Book II, Chapter I, Title "Of Property in General." There is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property or that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe, and yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the original and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the possession we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title; or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favor without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor by descent from our ancestors or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow creatures from a determinate spot of ground, because his father had done so before him; or why the occupier of a particular field or of a jewel, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world which of them should enjoy it after him. These inquires, it must be owned, would be useless and even troublesome in common life. It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons of making them. But, when law is to be considered not only as a matter of practice, but also as a rational science it cannot be improper or useless to examine more deeply the rudiments and grounds of these positive constitutions of society. In the beginning of the world we are informed by holy writ, the all bountiful Creator gave to man "dominion over all the earth, and over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon this subject. The earth, therefore, and all things therein are the general property of all mankind, exclusive of other beings from the immediate gift of the Creator, and, while the earth continued bare of inhabitants, it is reasonable to suppose that all was in common among them, and that every one took from the public stock to his own use such things as his immediate necessities required. These general notions of property were then sufficient to answer all the purposes of human life, and might perhaps still have answered them had it been possible for mankind to have remained in a state of primeval simplicity; as may be collected from the manners of many American nations when first discovered by the European and from the ancient method of living among the first Europeans themselves, if we may credit either the memorials of them pre-

served in the golden age of the poets, or the uniform accounts given by historians of those times wherein "*erant Omnis communia et indivisa omnibus veluti munn cunctus patrimonium esset.*" Not that this communion of goods seems ever to have been applicable, even in the earliest ages, to aught but the substance of the thing; nor could it be extended to the use of it. For by the law of nature and reason, he, who first began to use it, acquired therein a kind of transient property, that lasted so long as he was using it, and no longer; or, to speak with greater precision the *right* of possession continued for the same time only that the ACT of possession lasted. Thus the ground was in common, and no part of it was the permanent property of any man in particular; yet whoever was in the occupation of any determined spot of it, for rest for shade, or the like, acquired for the time a sort of ownership, from which it would have been unjust, and contrary to the law of nature to have driven him by force; but the instant that he quitted the use or occupation of it another might seize it without injustice. Thus also a vine or other tree might be said to be in common, as all men were equally entitled to its produce; and yet any private individual might gain the sole property of the fruit, which he had gathered for his own repast.

A doctrine well illustrated by Cicero, who compares the world to a great theatre, which is common to the public, and yet the place which any man has taken is for the time his own. But when mankind increased in numbers, craft, and ambition, it became necessary to entertain conceptions of more permanent dominion, and to appropriate to individuals not the immediate *use* only, but the very *substance* of the thing to be used. Otherwise innumerable tumults must have arisen, and the good order of the world been continually broken and disturbed, while a variety of persons were striving who should get the first occupation of the same thing, or disputing which of them had actually gained it.

As human life also grew more and more refined, abundance of conveniences were devised to render it more easy, commodious and agreeable, as habitations for shelter and safety, and raiment for warmth and decency. But no man would be at the trouble to provide either so long as he had only an usufructory property in them, which was to cease the instant that he quitted possession; if, as soon as he walked out of his tent, or pulled off his garment, the next stranger who came by would have a right to inhabit the one and to wear the other. In the case of habitations in particular, it was natural to observe, that even the brute creation, to whom everything else was in common, maintained a kind of permanent property in their dwellings, especially for the protection of their young; that the birds of the air had nests, and the beasts of the field had caverns, the invasion of which they considered a very flagrant injustice, and would sacrifice their lives to preserve them. Hence, a property was soon established in every man's house and home stall, which seem to have been originally mere temporary huts or movable cabins, suited to the design of providence for more speedily peopling the

earth, and suited to the wandering life of their owners before any extensive property in the soil or ground was established. And there can be no doubt but that movables of every kind became sooner appropriated than the permanent, substantial soil, partly because they were more susceptible of a long occupancy, which might be continued for months together without any sensible interruption, and at length, by usage, ripen into an established right; but principally because few of them could be fit for use till improved and meliorated by the bodily labor of the occupant, which bodily labor, bestowed upon any subject which before lay in common to all men, is universally allowed to give the fairest and most reasonable title to an exclusive property therein.

The article of food was a more immediate call, and therefore a more early consideration. Such as were not contented with the spontaneous product of the earth sought for a more solid refreshment in the flesh of beasts which they obtained by hunting. But the frequent disappointments incident to that method of provision induced them to gather together such animals as were of a more tame and sequacious nature, and to establish a permanent property in their flocks and herds in order to sustain themselves in a less precarious manner, partly by the milk of their dams and partly by the flesh of the young.

The support of these, their cattle, made the article of water also a very important point. And therefore the book of Genesis, (the most venerable monument of antiquity, considered merely with a view to history,) will furnish us with frequent instances of violent contentions concerning wells, the exclusive property of which appears to have been established in the first digger or occupant, even in such places where the ground and herbage remained yet in common. Thus we find Abraham, who was but a sojourner, asserting his right to a well in the country of Abimelech and exacting an oath for his security, "because he had digged that well." And Isaac, about ninety years afterwards, reclaimed this, his father's property; and after much contention with the Philistines was suffered to enjoy it in peace. All this while the soil and pasture of the earth remained still in common as before, and open to every occupant, except perhaps in the neighborhood of towns, where the necessity of a sole and exclusive property in lands (for the sake of agriculture) was earlier felt, and therefore more readily complied with. Otherwise, when the multitude of men and cattle had consumed every convenience on one spot of ground, it was deemed a natural right to seize upon and occupy such other lands as would more easily supply their necessities. This practice is still retained among the wild and uncultivated nations that have never been formed into civil states, like the Tartars and others in the east; where the climate itself, and the boundless extent of their territory, conspire to retain them still in the same savage state of vagrant liberty which was universal in the earlier ages, and which Tacitus informs

us, continued among the Germans till the decline of the Roman Empire.

We have also a striking example of the same kind in the history of Abraham and his nephew, Lot. When their joint substance became so great that pasture and other conveniences grew scarce, the natural consequence was that a strife arose between their servants, so that it was no longer practicable to dwell together. This contention Abraham thus endeavored to compose: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." This plainly implies an acknowledged right in either to occupy whatever ground he pleased that was not pre occupied by other tribes. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of the Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere, even as the garden of the Lord. Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan, and journeyed east; and Abraham dwelt in the land of Canaan."

Upon the same principle was founded the right of migration, or sending colonies to find out new habitations, when the mother country was overcharged with inhabitants; which was practiced as well by the Phoenicians and Greeks as the Germans, Scythians and other northern people. And so long as it was confined to the stocking and cultivation of the desert uninhabited countries, it kept strictly within the limits of the law of nature. But how far the seizing on countries already peopled and driving out or massacreing the innocent and defenceless natives merely because they differed from their invaders in language, in religion, in customs, in government, or in color,—how far such a conduct was consonant to nature, to reason, to Christianity, deserved well to be considered by those who have rendered their names immortal by thus civilizing mankind.

As the world by degrees grew more populous, it daily became more difficult to find out new spots to inhabit, without encroaching upon former occupants; and, by constantly occupying the same individual spot the fruits of the earth were consumed and its spontaneous produce destroyed, without any provision for future supply or succession. It therefore became necessary to procure some regular method of providing a constant subsistence; and this necessity produced, or at least promoted and encouraged the art of agriculture. And the art of agriculture, by a regular connection and consequence, introduced and established the idea of a more permanent property in the soil than had hitherto been received and adopted.

It was clear that the earth would not produce her fruits in sufficient quantities without the assistance of tillage. But who would be at the pains of tilling it if another might watch an opportunity to seize upon and enjoy the product of his industry, art, and labour? Had not therefore a separate property in lands, as well as movables been vested in some individuals the world must have continued a forest and men have been mere animals of prey, which according to

some philosophers is the genuine state of nature. Whereas now (so graciously has Providence interwoven our duty and our happiness together) the result of this very necessity has been the ennobling of the human species by giving it opportunities of improving its rational faculties, as well as of exerting its natural. Necessity begat property, and in order to insure that property, recourse was had to civil society, which brought along with it a long train of inseparable concomitants; States, Governments, laws, punishments and the public exercise of religious duties. Thus connected together it was found that a part only of society was sufficient to provide by their manual labor for the necessary subsistence of all, and leisure was given to others to cultivate the human mind, to invent useful arts, and to lay the foundations of science.

The only question remaining is, how this property became actually vested, or what it is that gave a man an exclusive right to retain in a permanent manner that specific land which before belonged generally to everybody, but particularly to nobody, and as, we before observed, that occupancy gave the right to the temporary use of the soil, so it is agreed upon all hands that occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the substance of the earth itself which excludes every one else but the owner from the use of it. There is indeed some difference among the writers on natural law, concerning the reason why occupancy should convey this right, and invest one with this absolute property. Grotius and Puffendorf insisting that this right for occupancy is found on a tacit and implied assent of all mankind, that the first occupant should become the owner; and Barbeyrac, Titus, Mr. Locke and others holding that there is no such implied assent, neither is it necessary that there should be; for that the very act of occupancy, alone, being a degree of bodily labor, is from a principle of natural justice, without any consent or compact sufficient of itself to gain a title. A dispute that savors too much of nice and scholastic refinement. *However, both sides agree in this, that occupancy is the thing by which the title was in fact originally gained, every man seizing to his own continued use such spots of ground as he found most agreeable to his own convenience, provided he found them unoccupied by any one else.*"

If then "while the earth continued bare of inhabitants" it and all "things were in common;" and "when mankind increased in number, craft and ambition, it became necessary to entertain conception of more permanent dominion and to appropriate to individuals not the immediate use only, but the very substance of the thing to be used." If then, "necessity begat property, and in order to insure that property recourse was had to civil society" with its concomitant facts, "and as we have before observed, that occupancy gave the right to the temporary use of the soil, so it is agreed upon all hands that occupancy gave also the original right to the permanent property in the substance of the earth itself, which excludes every one but the owners from the use of it."

If the foregoing propositions of Mr. Blackstone are true the following facts and conclusions are clearly deducible from them.

(1.) At first, land was held in common by men. (2.) As population multiplied, by necessity individuals were confined to particular portions of land. (3.) This fact of actual occupation and use, conferred all the exclusive rights and privileges one man can acquire in land, against all others.

Now, if these concomitant facts conferred all the original, individual title to lands on individuals; as these conditions became more and more intensified by the eflux of time and growth of population, all the modes of reasoning, with which we are acquainted, would suggest that at least no enlargment of the estate of individuals held in land by original, or acquired as new titles, could take place as the effect of the same conditions. If so will some one inform us by what process it is reached.

The logic of the situation is, if these facts and conditions necessitated and conferred the individual estate, as they increased in intensity in society, so too, would the limitation upon the estate be more deeply and clearly defined.

And if no no man has, or can acquire title to only such an allotment, on what principle, or according to what rule of law and *justice* is it that any man, in a sole or aggregate capacity has been, or is now, enabled to convey a greater estate in more land, than he or they ever could secure?

We are carried irresistibly to the conclusion that whenever the necessities of society and men demand an investigation of the title of a man who "owns" or claims a million, or a thousand acres of land, for purpose of "investment" or "speculation," his title falls to the ground. It must be subject to the exigencies and necessities of his fellow men and of society, to use and occupy for homes. As before stated, it is innocent until population increases and men come to claim their heritage. Then it becomes, if insisted on, a crime against mankind, and men will not be slow to deal with the acts of those who do it as such. They have a right to do it.

Men, in a state of society and civil government are compelled to recognize, preserve and enforce the *principle* of the pre-eminent title and estate of all men or society, over the title of an individual. Society and its government aims at "the greatest good for the greatest number." That principle is preserved in the constitution and laws of nationalities and states and legal literature under the title of "Eminent Domain."

It "is the right which the people or government retain over the estates of individuals to resume the same for public use." Bouv. Law Dic. It is in the exercise of this principle that private property is taken from the owner for public use after paying him a "just compensation." But, for it, no such lands could be taken for any public use, for buildings, docks, streets, alleys, parks, roads, pikes, railways or telegraphs. And all the States by virtue of it and the necessity of the situation have enacted laws under which proceedings

may be had on the part of one private owner to condemn the private lands of another, to give him a way for the escape and flow of water and for a "private road" to and from his possessions, when he has been hemmed in and it "is a way of necessity." The language of the constitution of the United States on this subject, is "nor shall private property be taken, for a public use without just compensation." Last clause of Art. V., of Amendments to the Constitution. The State Constitutions all have provisions substantially the same. It is negative; in the day and age it was framed encroachments were guarded against from the government side of the compact. At that time the railway, the telegraph and telephone were not known. But that negative provision of our national and State constitutions has been construed by the courts to have enough affirmative breadth and flexibility, to enable them under the powers retained by it to government to enact laws to condemn and *to condemn* private property for all these uses on the theory it was and *was* to be a public *use*. Nor is it now contended it was wrong; those enterprises could not have been carried forward by any other rule or principle. We are here taught that the main factors in all such situations are the exigencies and necessities of society.

As Christ said of the Sabbath as institution, "it was made for man, not man for the Sabbath," so we may say of the constitution; it was made for man not man for the constitution. It should be borne in mind in these cases the courts proceed upon and it is the theory of the law that government or society never parted with its title to land to individuals for such purposes; it retained that title or interest in them to "resume the same for public use," whenever in its opinion expressed by the constitutional authority the legislative department it would subserve the end of "the greatest good to the greatest number" to do so. And in line with this is the implied right and power to thus protect society and we have the whole brood of execution and Homestead Exemption and the Bankrupt Laws. They are enacted on the theory that the end, "the greatest good to the greatest number," justifies the means. And in thousands of instances the effect of them is that private property is taken for private use for no compensation so that indirectly the common good may be and it undoubtedly is thereby subserved. A man owes you one thousand dollars; you procure judgment against him for it. By that the judicial department of the government says he owes it to you; he ought to pay and it will assist you by due process of law to make it out of his property.

You show the sheriff eight acres of land on which he resides with his family, worth fifteen hundred dollars. (in Missouri), it is different in different States); you demand the sheriff levy on it, sell it and make deed to you for the land, as a matter of justice between man and man. But here you are met with the "Homestead Laws." The court and government say to you if the matter of exact justice between you and your debtor was the sole consideration in the premises, your demand would be complied with. But it is not; so-

ciety is, in a sense, a party to all these matters; especially those that effect the "home" and "family." They are the atoms of society; to despoil their home breaks up the family, is contrary to public policy; and this your debtor is the head of a family. Experience has taught it is public policy and subserves the public and general good to protect the home and the law does it by an exemption from levy of attachment or execution. And the same of the other exemption and the bankrupt laws. It is true the legislative department of our government in 1877 in obedience to the clamor of the creditor class turned its back upon the light of the future, to the gloom of the past, the day of imprisonment for debt, and repealed our humane bankrupt law.

Indeed its face has been set steadily in that direction for twenty years as we shall see as we proceed.

But the reader may say what has all this to do with the subject in hand, of land and land tenure to-day. It has this and this is my argument. If society and government in the exercise of its retained title in all lands called "Eminent Domain," can take private property for a public use or benefit, for sites for public buildings, docks, roads, pikes, streets, rights of way, for railways, elevated railways, telegraph and others; and can and does take private property for private "ways of necessity" for just compensation. And can and now does daily indirectly take private property for private use for no compensation, but to the public, by means of the execution exemption homestead and bankrupt laws.

Why can it not, in the use and application of the very same principles declare by the legislative department, that it is in line with public policy and the "greatest good to the greatest number" that all persons shall have reasonable and favorable opportunity to make permanent and respectable homes by their own industry and effort, and that it is the duty of society and government to see that all citizens do have such opportunity. And that to accomplish that end, the government now deems it to be its duty to resume its title of eminent domain, in all lands not now actually occupied and used for actual homes and hold them, subject to be condemned and taken from those who now own them, subject to the government title aforesaid and delivered on terms to those who actually need, receive and occupy them, in good faith for the purpose of making homes on the "payment of just compensation," by them to the present holders. The law to be so framed as to give the "private persons" as many rights and advantages in the condemnatory proceedings as such laws now confer on the "artificial persons" in such cases. No we cannot ask that, for they can take if they deem it necessary, the last acre of the party that was exempt to him from debt. That point must be guarded; the rights of the defendant in the condemnatory proceedings must be protected so that he shall in no case be reduced in his land tenure below a fixed minimum. This would only be treating "natural persons" as well before the law as "artificial persons" and corporations now are.

Of course Gould, Vanderbilt, Depew, John Sherman and the English, French and other European snobs and lords will file motions for new trial and in arrest of judgment they will inform us it is *unconstitutional*, that the constitution and man were both made for the corporations instead of vice versa. They will threaten, indeed they and their class have now threatened to get out a writ of prohibition from the forum of force. But we think they will soon have intimations that the clearer they keep of that court, the better it will be for them, horse, foot, bag and baggage. It would in fact, in principle, be no innovation whatever. It would in fact fall short of the lengths to which these principles have now been carried. No change in the constitution of the United States and the States would be necessary to do it For it lies with the legislative departments of both State and United States governments to declare what the public uses and benefits are, to which private property can be condemned upon payment of just compensation. It is uniformly so held by the courts of both. And it would be no innovation on the part of the legislative department. They have all now enacted law to condemn private property as for a public use for "rights of way," for railways, telegraph, through and through all their borders, and that too upon lines dictated by little cliques of selfish capitalists, who decide where it shall be, or from what points to what one "on the most eligible route" and they start through a State from line to line and the "most eligible route" is the one on which they can extort most "booty" or "boodle," by a species of black mail practiced, in running in or around the towns and cities along or near the the line. The public "use or benefit" is not consulted in such a case. And they take and condemn whosoever lands suits their purpose And they may split and dig up the orchard garden and husband's grave, of the last five acres of the widow's homestead, from which the State laws forefended all the State, home and other creditor; and all this done by a foreign "artificial person" for just compensation fixed by the appraiser or a jury. Yes, all the masses of the homeless disinherited sons and the daughters of toil of the United States, and the States need ask for the nexty thirty years to be reinstated in all their rights, have lands sufficient to make permanent, comfortable and respectable homes with ordinary industry and thrift is to stand up, in and on the rights of their God-given man and womanhood and ask, yea, demand, in silent tones of authority and power of the ballot-box, that they be recognized and treated before the law with as much consideration as the "artificial persons" and corporations have been for the last thirty years.

In that period they have plundered the "public" domain with special grants and grid-ironed private domain with rights of way, that has had and still has no limitations, only their greedy purposes. The legislatures of every State have now gone further in principle than they are now asked to go; they have as we have seen provided as measures of public policy in two instances that private property may be taken for private use; in one for "a just" and in the other

no compensation; that is the one in the case of "private roads" the other the exemptions from execution and the bankrupt laws. For although our bankrupt law is now repealed, yet no one denies now the constitutional validity of it. And before a citizen's land can be taken for a private or public road it must be decided by a court of competent jurisdiction, that in the one case it actually is "a way of necessity" and in the other, that it is a way of public utility and necessity. But all the conditions and sentiments so far are to "strain at a gnat," of private interest "and swallow" a corporation camel without blinking.

I have read Mr. Henry George's writings on the subject. His arguments for a modification of the present laws on the subject of land and land tenure are unanswerable. Nor has there been a respectable effort to do it. But his theory of land taxation as the remedy is as impracticable as are his arguments to show that a remedy must be found unanswerable in my opinion. His theory is to tax the lands of those who hold more than their prorata share until the tax is a burden and they sell the lands to escape it. It is an attempt to do by indirect means, that it is the right and duty of government and society to do by direct summary means, if it is its right and duty to do it all all. The masses of the homeless poor of our society will be driven to extremities and necessities, they never knew before, while the time-serving, double-dealing, irresponsible, assessor is parleying with the millionaire and holders of lands and the public domain. It simply relegates the question of a remedy back to the assessor, the most unreliable and irresponsible branch of our present mal-administration and apportionments of the burdens of government. For under the present system the assessor in his duties mingles all the functions of clerical, administrative and judicial duties. The more of each of these cloaks of official conduct, a man can draw over his acts, the more difficult it is to discover his peculations or to fasten responsibility upon him when it is discovered. So that if it was a matter of fixing a "value" when he must from the nature of the cass, exercise his judgment and "discretion" nothing short of proof of actual corruption casts either civil or criminal liability. In almost every other case he can plead clerical "mistake," or other oversight, so that with his and shylock's affidavit and shylock's lawyer who will make common cause with him, we think the homeless poor of to-day would see their grand children dying beggars at the back door of the land grabbers and assessors, before they or any of them would ever reach any relief from that source. It is shylocks, the tyrant's own court of back door, back room, clerical, beaureaucracy and privacy. Yes, that is the court that suits him, where the business is done by knowing winks and nods; only a few present; no publicity; no audacious, noisy attorney with flaming eye, clinched fist and ringing voice of a Patrick Henry, stirring the listening masses of the robbed and disinherited up to a point of defiant demand of their rights. That class of men want no jury, no public trial; the closeted, in-door one-side privacy

of a "Star Chamber" where sweet-scented political bawds banter and fawn and leer on a hybrid thing, unknown in responsibility to either one of the three constitutional departments of the government, such as an "assessor," a "railroad commissioner," or a "telegraph commissioner" or an "inter-state commerce commission," a sort of irresponsible mongrel born of "incorporate greed" and governmental pusalanimity, and then greed can and does cousin away the people's rights and no publicity made of it. Of course the "patrician" class and the political bawds they employ have very delicate matters to discuss that do not bear the wear and tear of open common striping of purple and fine linen at the hands of rough and ready, fearless "tribunes" of the common people who believe one man and his rights are as good as another, and better too, if he is "right;" and that they always give a "cause" before an honest judge and thinking jury. By "political bawds" I mean the class of "lawyers" who leave the "forum" where the law as made is interpreted and applied to the causes as they arise, and go to the legislative departments of the government of the United States and of the States and there for hire, like a woman of the fave in her vocations, so they ply theirs as "lobbyists" by means fair and foul; by intrigue, by undue influence, personal application and sweet-scented, rose-tinted "memorials" and other means, labor to secure such legislation as will protect their client's interests." I blush for the moral and political degeneracy of my country that will brook the offices of such legal and political vermin. It is one thing as an "advocate" of the cause of a person "natural or "artificial" "as an officer of the court," to assist in the interpretation and application of the law to and to ascertain what are the facts in the cause.

If the law is *right*, it will commend itself. If it is not, the best way to insure its repeal is to vigorously enforce it. If its repeal or modification is sought, appeal, at election time, to the "source of the law-making power" of this country, the people.

But it is proverbial that when that class of "lawyers" quit the "forum" to have the law changed, they appeal, not to the people at the polls, or the legislature by a popular petition, but by all the ways and means of the "professional lobbyist" we have named.

They frame and present "bills,"—they hang round members who have "bills" in charge; they roost on the backs of the chairs of "committees;" they have methods of *compromise* by way of "a commission" to suggest. Indeed, this class of talent has of late years come so much into demand that the old time Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, James Otis, or Daniel Webster class of *advocates*, who were only great and grand with a living cause, before a living public, court and jury, or assembly, are passing to the shades of the past; yes, passing there, with the *People's Cause* and rights, they will come back together, if ever.

The rich scoundrel who has debauched the poor man's wife or daughter, does not want the "cause" before an *impartial* judge and jury, in a public trial. No, give him a "commission" and

"parley" in the back room of his or his attorney's office. That suits him and his cause best. On the same principle the class of men in this and every country, who want something for *nothing* according to law, want a *private*, closed-door parley.

Charles I. and II. wanted the "star chamber" court. Louis XVI. wanted to summon "The Notables" of the two oppressing "Orders" to deliberate on his and the people's cause, rather than "the States General" to settle his controversy with the "third estate," the people. That is, call the "church and nobles" to settle his and their quarrel with the people, *in secret*. "Liberty, I said, is coupled with the public *word*, and however the public *word* may be abused, it is nevertheless true that out of it arises oratory—the æsthetics of liberty. What would Rome and Greece be to us without their Demosthenes and Cicero? And what would their other writers have been had not their language been coined out of the orator? What would England be without her host of manly and masterly speakers? Who of us could wish to see the treasures of our civilization robbed of the words of our speakers from Patrick Henry to Webster?

The speeches of great orators are a fund of wealth for a free people; from which the school boy begins to draw when he declaims from his Reader, and which enriches, elevates and nourishes the souls of the old. Publicity is indispensable to eloquence. No one speaks well in secret, before a few. Orators are in this respect like poets, their kin, of whom Goethe, "one of the craft," says, they cannot sing unless they are heard. "Lieber On Civil Liberty and *Self Government*." *Woe betide the people's cause* when it is relegated to "star chambers" and "commissions of parley" and the assessor.

What do you think would have been the result of relegating the question of "taxation without representation" back to the "assessors" or a "joint commission" appointed by his "royal highness" and his governors, and the colonists in 1776?

What do you think of the client and his cause, who does not have the courage or countenance to face the judge and jury while his cause is tried in public? If the American people, on this subject of *Land* and *Land Tenure*, and others, have a cause of which they are not ashamed, let them demand a speedy and *public* trial. Injustice sneaks away to hide its deformed head in a star chamber or a commission of parley. Justice never fears to raise her head and her face, radiant as the sun, pleading her own cause in public. The utmost good faith and integrity are conceded to Mr. George in advancing his taxation theory; and his great services to the public are recognized. But the utter failure of his theory is apparent.

Another theory advanced by writers of late years, on the subject, as presented, is an actual hindrance to the cause. This is what they call "Land Nationalization." Wherever the principles of the common law now obtains, it is now "nationalized" sufficient for all practical purposes, by the doctrine to which we have referred, that of "*Eminent Domain*." And to say that it is not, that some

new principle in that regard must be asserted as a part of the organic law of the state, cedes to the opposition a fortress of strength they do not now actually hold; and thus adds to the strength of their present unjust attitude and demands. The law to condemn lands for homesteads, when enacted ought to be uniform, and for that reason ought to be enacted by the national legislature, but administered as *pari materia* of other homestead laws of the states, at same time to be complete in a state where there are no such laws, if there is or should be such a state.

In the Appendix will be found the draft of a law we think will be found to be applicable, and held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States and of the States.

CHAPTER XI.

COMMERCE—TRANSPORTATION.

This brings us to the subject of transportation, one branch of that of commerce. The word is derived from the Latin ones, *trans*, across, and *portare*, to carry, and literally means to carry across the space between the producers' and the consumers' market.

We have seen, when men enter the state of society, they are compelled, per force of circumstances, to cede some natural rights to it, to be exercised by its government. In a savage, untamed state, men have and exercise the right of barter, from hand to hand or face to face; and that is all that could be called commerce among them. In a state of civilization they are compelled to yield, for all practical purposes, this natural right of barter from hand to hand as completely as if they were shut in with prison walls. The agriculturalist, the mechanic, the artist, the professional man, cannot take the products of his labor and go to the producer of the article he wants and there make a barter. All each can do is to send or carry his product to the shipping depot to sell, and go to the retail market to buy. The great interest of society, indicated by our subject, lies between and is all there is for relief, between the producers' and consumers' market. And the subject includes the carrying trade, of everything portable, including person, property, and intelligence, by hand, or horseback, by boat, on wheels, or by wire; it is all *transportation*. It includes all the means invented and used or that may be used by men, to transport themselves, the products of their hands and brains, for converse, communion and exchange of commodities. For all these means, no matter what, are the mere inventions of men to enable them to enable them to bridge over the space put, at least widened, between them by society; that is, it would be widened without these means to which they resort, the boat, the coach, the railroad, the mail, the telegraph and telephone. For society, exhausting, as it does, all the spontaneous means of subsistence, men are compelled to be and remain at one place, at home, to

labor and take care of the fruits of their labor to live, and every such right ceded by the citizen by the constitution must and does from the very nature of things constitute a distinct branch of the duties of government in the public service. The natural right of the citizen to redress his own wrongs ceded to government constitutes when exercised by it the branch of the administration of justice—the judicial department. The right ceded to it of "providing for the common defense" exercised by it constitutes the "War Department" and that branch of the public service.

"To establish post-offices and post roads," constitutes in government the "Post Office Department." "To levy and collect taxes, duties, imports and excises, to pay debts," exercised by the government constitutes the branch of the civil service engaged in "the collection of the revenue." "To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States and with the Indian tribes" confers on government the right and duty to do it, by regulating by law the two great means by which it is accomplished by men in a state of civilization, namely, the means of transportation and money. The right to exercise each one of these branches and incident duties of government is ceded to it by the citizen with the reasonable expectation and tacit understanding that the one ceded is to bring to him greater good, than he could gain to retain it. And the right, at least the power to exercise it himself is surrendered; and unless government does accept and exercise the trust thus reposed, the right is annihilated and government has betrayed its trust. Hence its duty to accept and vigorously exercise it. A public service is one over which all influence or control of private persons for private or personal ends, must from the nature of the case be excluded. It is one in which all have a common interest and the benefits of which all ought to have an equal right to avail themselves. If any private person is permitted to make private gains out of any branch of the public service it is seen at a glance, all these principles are violated. What would we think of a proposition made to pay the salaries of the judges of the United States courts out of a per cent of the judgments rendered for different values and monies in causes on their dockets? Also to permit them or a syndicate to buy the court houses and offices used in their various duties and the government rent of them? The same of the post-office and revenue departments of the public service? And the "syndicate" demand annually that the rents be made to amount to a certain per cent on the "capital stock" invested. And then annually, or as often as suited their ideas of business "water the stock" twenty-five or fifty per cent?

What would Americans think or say? And yet there is just as much reason and as much authority in the constitution for private ownership and control of this property the physical means used by it to accomplish these branches of the public service as there is for private ownership and control of the property and physical means used by it to accomplish the branch of the public service we are now discussing that of transportation.

Indeed the reasons are stronger or more capable of defence in the former than the latter instance. For then the actual value of the property used in each instance would be the means of determining the public burdens from that source. And in the first instance, the property, the real estate and buildings are of such permanent nature and so easy to determine their actual value, and the property in the second instance being scattered all over the country, consisting of rolling stock, telegraph wires and poles, roads and bridges, all the chances of imposition are in favor of the owners of the property in the second instance. The only difference is the species of property used in the first instance as the means of accomplishing those branches of the public service was in existence when the constitution itself was framed; and its flagrant violation would not be brooked by the living men who framed it by any such means as private ownership. Hence as to that species of property we started in and have remained right. But as to the species of property, now almost exclusively used, as the means to accomplish the transportation of the country, it was not in existence; it has all been invented and created since by private invention and enterprise; and the ownership and control has not yet been changed.

As to the ownership of that species of property we started in and have so far remained wrong. Some of it was protected by patents, but they have now nearly all expired to all of it but telephones. But because we started, does it argue we shall always remain wrong? The exigencies and growth of society in this respect may have been as well subserved by that means until now. Grant it—but now an exigency has arisen, when it is so no longer.

Do you challenge the proof? It can be given. It can be proven by the overgrown, proud, insolent corporations, their officers and attorneys, who own and control that species of property. The proof is this—private gain is made by that means out of the exercise and performance of the duties of that branch of the public service. Do you deny it? If so, you would deny the sun shines in mid day. If they do not, why do these corporations employ their ill-gotten gains to send political bawds, called "lobbyists" and their attorneys, when they can, to second the motion of the lobby in the State and National legislatures? Why did Jay Gould "put a little money where it would do the most good?" Why do that class of capitalists show such extreme sensitiveness to any movement of the public in the direction of regulating their extortions if they have no gain?

Their conduct and actions in these respects are governed by the very same motives that stimulates the acts and maneuvers of the keeper of a bawdy house when he fears a movement is on foot in municipal circles, to interfere with his "vested capital."

The same that leads to the insane efforts of the liquor traffic to postpone its hour of doom. If that class of capitalists have no advantages over other classes of "investment," why do they ask or

demand separate "tribunals" and special legislation? Why will they stoop to the mortification of governmental interference with their so-called "rights," by inter-state commerce bills and "State Commissioners?" Like the distiller under the revenue laws, treated as a rogue in all his business by government, locked in and out of his own house, they can stand it for the per cent of unholy exorbitant gain made out of this branch of the public service. Did the reader ever think of the vicious violation of the constitution and of private right that is involved in this one thing of permitting private gain and advantage from the exercise of a public function and service? It overturns all constitutional government. It is on the high road to absolutism. Even to permit government to charge any more than to make that branch of the public service self-sustaining or all of them self-sustaining, violates every constitutional safeguard and may ruin the citizen.

If more than enough to make the service self-sustaining is taken where is the limit? Inside the constitution is safety; outside is infinity, uncertainty, tyranny.

If more is taken how much more? And in this branch of the public service all taken more than enough to make the service self-supporting, is taken from the producer and consumer. It levies a direct tax on them. Levied by whom? The legislative department of the government to whom they ceded the right to tax them? No, but by private greed and cupidity. For what purpose? The one they authorized for "the general welfare and the common defense?" Sec. 8, Art. 1, Con. U. S. No, but to make up the per cent demanded by scoundrels and ingrates on their "watered stock." If the principle is admitted there is no limit, but that of human cupidity as hungry as the open grave. By it alone in this one branch of the public service, men in a state of society may be subjected to the rigors of a situation not known to men even in a savage state.

For barter is gone—they ceded that right or the power to do it to government.

It abdicates government on that subject and farms out that branch of the public service to a class of "tax gatherers" and extortioners. The longer it is tolerated the further we go away from right principles; the greater the accumulatations of the ill-gotten gains and capital to be thus pitted directly in a fight against the public welfare; the greater the ferocity will be shown when the attempt is made to get back to right principles.

To permit the accumulation of gains to private persons as owners and operators of the means by which a public service is accomplished violates the basic principle that obtains everywhere else in business and the administration of law, that a man as a judge, a juryman in any business relation or trust will not be allowed to sit in judgment on his own cause; or on one exactly the same as another pending in which he is directly interested. If a man is allowed any avenue to gain in the use or control of the means by which this or any branch of the public service is performed, then he has some

discretion, some choice as to the means, where and how he will use it; and the temptation is too great for human frailty to bear.

To give a man in such a case such control and means and hope of gain from his own acts, would in principle be the same as putting the owner of the land on the jury when the railroad and corporation was valuing and condemning his land for "a right of way." It violates the common basic principles of business, as declared by the courts every day in the administration of justice; namely, that a trustee of a fund, or for the performance of a function, as "trustee of an express trust," will not be permitted to so manage the fund or perform the duty or function so as to make personal gain out of his trust.

For, say the courts, human experience has taught, that human nature is too frail and the wiles of human cupidity too devious to cede to a man any such right or discretion in such situation.

The overgrown railroad and telegraph corporations that now own that property of the country, were compelled to ask of society through its government, the legislatures and the courts, that it resume its title of "Eminent Domain," retained in all lands held by private persons and then cede that title to them on the ground they were and were going to be public servants; were going to perform a public service, transportation, as trustees of a public trust; and thereby thus secured their rights of way over and through private property. But now their "trust" in violation of business and constitutional principles and good faith must be prostituted to the ends of private gain to pay great per cents on "watered stock."

The increased population demand and consumption of the country make the great interests in transportation possible in its present proportions and yield its immense revenues. The people in their sovereign capacity have a vested interest in it that is prior to and gives them the right to control it, for public good. They succeeded to their rights of way upon the pretense they were and would be public servants. Let the people hold them to that promise. Human experience has taught the courts in their administration of justice, that human cupidity and greed is unmanagable, untamable, *fera naturae*. "Give it an inch it will take an ell." Give it one iota of discretion, one avenue to personal gain in the management of interests not its own in the exercise of the "functions of a trust," the flood-gate is up, the torrent swells and is beyond control. The only way to deal with it in such a case, is to cut off discretion, all hope, all motive to resort to the machinations that may bring personal gain; and strip the "trustee" of it even if he does make it. Hence they have laid down the rule to which we referred. Our experience for the last thirty years in this country emphasizes the wisdom of this rule.

The only possible relief to the American people from the growing abuses to which they have been and are now subjected by this branch of the public service, is in taking from "these trustees of an express trust," all power and opportunity to make and all hope of

making private gain out of this branch of the public service, out of the matter of their trust. As we proceed to investigate this subject upon principle, we find that it, like all other interests and laws that are wrong; that enables one man or class of men to do to others as they would not others do to them, violates all the safeguards of the social compact and the constitution. As we have seen these corporations take private lands by an exercise of the right of government, of its retained title of eminent domain and upon the claim that they are and are going to be public benefactors and "trustees of a public trust." But who says in the first instance, when or what line, they shall build their roads? that a fourth or a fifth line is necessary to the public convenience from Kansas City to Chicago, or from Chicago to New York? Even in a matter of no more public importance than the taking of private property for a wagon road, to do it an application for it must be presented to proper court in the county where it is desired, alleging it is one of public utility and necessity and it be proven to the satisfaction of the court; whether it is or not in the special case, is a judicial question and made so by the legislatures of the States. The legislatures declare the terms on which private property may be condemned for such roads and then leave it to these courts to say when, where and in what particular instances lands shall be taken for such purpose.

But who decides the fifth line of railroad from points indicated that will take one hundred times as much private property is one of necessity and public utility? Who decided they should go from this point to that "on the most eligible route;" who decides whatever that is when they start? It may be answered the legislature, or Congress, or both, gave them charters to do it. But whether in fact such necessity and utility exists, is a matter of judicial investigation, that the legislative department has no right to make, and no means or time to make if it did have the power. As a matter-of-fact we know they never pretend to make any such. The only body that determines this question is a little clique of adventurers or capitalists, who meet in a hotel parlor and decide it on considerations like this: Will it be the "shortest line;" will it enable us to lay an embargo upon this "coal," "lumber," "oill," "timber," or "agricultural" district? Is not such and such lines now on the verge of bankruptcy? Will not our enterprise be the finishing stroke, so we can bag it at foreclosure sale at half cost and completely control a whole State, or part of a State's commerce, as to its transportation?

And the real only true consideration, that of the public utility and necessity, never once enters into their computation. But they decide to call for a charter; a few party hacks are seen; their attorneys arrange matters; they get the charter and start swaggering through the State; surveying here, there; blackmailing this or that town, city or community, and the "most eligible route" is the one along whose line lays the richest bribes.

And this is not an overstatement of the matter. Yet this is one branch of the public service of a great commercial, free, intelligent,

people; the greatest in the world. This very day a corporation is competing with the public and the community with a "Land Company" laying out and speculating in towns and town lots in open violation of the constitution and laws of this State—Missouri.

As already stated, when the present constitution of the United States was framed, encroachments upon the liberties of the people were guarded, from the government side of the compact. Nearly all its terms as to grants, even of power, are negative. The revolutionary fathers, with the smell of burning powder of the tyrant still in their nostrils, the blood of their co-patriyts scarce washed from the earth, where it was shed by his minions, guarded closely every avenue to advance to government "prerogatives."

The English parliament and royal claims of *absolute* power were the source from whence came their late afflictions. Hence, even the conservative constitution as left and signed by the original framers, Washington and his compeers, was soon modified by the family of the first eleven *Amendments*

And it will be observed that in each of them the *jealous people* were still fencing against the governmental encroachment or prerogative. Then they did not know the danger that lies in aggregated capital centered in the hands of soulless, heartless corporations; and encroachments on their rights, from that approach, was left utterly unguarded. There was not a "millionaire" in the United States until about 1840. Now the people find the worst enemy modern civilization and civil liberty has, right in their rear, right among them, on their own side of the bulwarks.

But when they once fully recognize, they will still be masters of the situation. It will only be the rank and file, the horse and foot of the army turned loose on the *rebellions* bag and baggage train. For the last fifteen years a conviction has grown upon the American people they must do something in the premises. They have half grasped the idea, they *have* the right and *power* to regulate these corporations under the power of Congress to "regulate commerce." Hence we have a multitude of ephemeral imbecile efforts coming from the nerve centers of the body politic nearest the afflictions of the suffering, the state legislatures, in the shape of acts to provide for "Railroad Commissioners," with various powers; and finally culminating in "An Act To Regulate Interstate Commerce" by Congress.

No real, permanent relief need ever be expected from any such legislation. It will be demonstrated that none was intended to be given by the provisions of the "Interstate Commerce" act. Its terms and provisions are utterly *unconstitutional*, in violation of all legal and business principles, and we do not hesitate to say, that if the "Commission" appointed under its provisions did, to any considerable degree, interfere with the dictates of greed of the great corporations, they would assail and overthrow it on that ground, *and will do it, if it ever does.* All such legislation is actually wrong in principle and unconstitutional, in that it cedes to these corpora-

tions the right to own and control the property used in this branch of the public service. It concedes and grants to them the right to make "*private gains*" out of that management and control. It grants to a nameless something, a legal and political hybrid called a "commission," with the "consent and advice" of the railroad officers, stock-holders, and attorneys, to say what is or is not "a reasonable charge" for their "services" to the public in this matter.

We shall discuss the "Interstate Commerce Act" of Congress as typical of the whole brood. Pitiful and contemptible as it is, it marks an era in the history of the World's Republic. When it grasped and commenced to wrestle with the untamed beast whose jaws drip with the blood of all the civilizations of the past, that has fastened its poisoned fangs in their quivering flesh and held its grip, although it could see it and civilization were dying together; that is centralized corporate, incorporate, class privilege and wealth. We humbly beg leave to call the attention of the patriots who roused and beyed the tiger in his den, in insisting upon some act of this sort, to the mistakes made in it, so they may not be repeated.

We cannot do this better than to give verbatim quotations from the "Report" of "The Interstate Commerce Commission" itself, prepared and signed by all of its members, five in number, dated Dec. 1st, 1887, and made in compliance with the terms of the Act, to "The Secretary of the Interior." It is a public document of more than ordinary interest, printed at public expense, composed of forty-three pages, and ought to be read by every thinking American. It will convince all such that the American people asked "bread" of Congress, and, as usual, for thirty years, incorporate greed and the U. S. Senate "gave them a s one."

But to the "Report." After stating the act requires them to suggest "amendments" they may deem necessary," and quoting a part of it, they give us some important railroad statistics, undoubtedly furnished by the railroad corporations. The railroad milage of the United States, computed to the end of the fiscal year 1886, was 133,606. The number of corporations representad in it, 1,426; but by consolidating and leasing the "controling" ones was reduced to 700. It is estimated that 4,380 miles had been constructed since the above facts were adduced. "The Commission has as yet no statistics of its own collection to lay before the public, but a manual generally accepted as reliable"—(kindly put to their elbows by railroad officers and attorneys), gives this bit of information: "The construction and equipment of the 133,606 miles of road is estimated at $7,254,995,233, and the funded debt of the companies at $3,822,966,330. Interest, according to the *same authority*, was paid by these companies, for the last fiscal year, to the amount of $187,365,540, and the aggregate payment to stockholders, in dividends, was $80,064,138."—Pages 1 and 2.

We ask thinking Americans to dwell here a moment. Take these corporations and their "commission" at their word, for it is evident, as we proceed, that these "commissioners," some of them

late railroad attorneys themselves, on high salaries, are under their influence. Then the cost of the 133,606 is $54.301 per mile. Every man in the United States capable of attending to his "own affairs," knows that to be as base a falsehood as ever was written and published by a subsidized officer at public expense, to overawe a suffering people. This conclave of railroad attorneys did not *stoop* to give the information of the cost of the last 4,380 miles constructed. To do it was to lay themselves open to contradiction, as the information is at hand to do it successfully. Again, they pay—

Interest on this "watered stock,"	$187,356,540
Dividends " " "	80,094,138
Total for the last fiscal year,	$267,450,678

And on their own showing they have farmed that year 3.7 per cent., almost 4 per cent., income on the $54,301 per mile. The annual tax per capita to the people of the United States is $5.17, for the support of this "branch of the public service." This table of falsehood was presented by the "commission" to stupify, dumfound and overawe the mind, so it would be prepared to receive the following *familiar style* of railroad attorney literature: "Some idea of the magnitude of the interest which the act undertakes to regulate, may be obtained from these figures, but they fall far short of measuring, or even of indicting its importance. (The old men wax more valiant and eloquent in the railroad cause as they proceed.) The regulation of no other business would concern so many or such diversified interests or would affect in so many ways, the results of enterprise, the prosperity of commercial and manufacturing ventures, the intellectual and social intercourse, or the general comfort and convenience of the citizen in his every day life." Very true; but is it possible that the American people as to all these sacred interests are to be at the mercy of greedy corporations who hold them all in their greedy fists and farm their necessities for big profits on "watered stock?"

These considerations do not occur to these five "commissioners" in this or any other connection.

The obvious effort of all of it is to impress on the people this interest is greater than they are. They have now done all they ought to attempt We pass over their observation on the growth of commerce, very interesting, to page 10 of the Report, where they state "the leading features of the act," which they fairly do as follows: (1). "All charges made for services by carriers subject to this act shall be reasonable and just. Every unreasonable and unjust charge is prohibited and declared to be unlawful." (2.) "The direct or indirect charging, demanding, collecting or receiving, for any service rendered a greater or less compensation from any one or more persons, than from any other for a like and contemporaneous service is declared to be unjust discrimination and is prohibited."

(3.) "The giving of undue or unreasonable preference, as between persons or localities or kinds of traffic or the subjecting any one of them to undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage is declared to be unlawful."

(4.) "Reasonable, proper, and equal facilities for the interchange of traffic between lines and for the receiving, forwarding and delivering of passengers and property between connecting lines is required and discrimination in rates and charges as between connecting lines is forbidden."

(5.) "It is made unlawful to charge or receive any greater compensation in the aggregate for the transportation of passengers or the like kind of property under substantially similar circumstances and conditions for a shorter, than a longer distance over the same line in the same direction, the shorter being included in the longer distance."

(6.) "Contracts, agreements, or combinations for the pooling of freights of different and competing railroads, or dividing between them the aggregate or net earnings of such railroads or any portion of them are declared to be unlawful."

(7). "All carriers subject to the law are required to print their tariffs for the transportation of persons and property, and to keep them for public inspection at every depot or station on their roads. An advance in rates is not to be made until ten days public notice, but a reduction may be made to take effect at once, the notice of the same being immediately and publicly given. The rates publicly notified are to be the maximum as well as the minimum charges which can be collected or received for the services respectively for which they purport to be established."

(8.) "Copies of all tariffs are required to be filed with this commission, which is to be promptly notified of all changes that shall be made in the same. Joint tariffs of connecting roads are also required to be filed and also copies of all contracts, agreements or arrangements between carriers in relation to traffic affected by the act."

(9.) "It is made unlawful for any carrier to enter into any combination, contract or agreement, express or implied, to prevent by change of time, schedules, carriage in different cars, or by means or devices the carriage of freights from being continuous from the place of shipment to the place of destination."

"All charges shall be reasonable and just," but there is no sanction, no penalty for a violation. What a wonderful declaration that is? How much better the poor, robbed, harrassed people must feel. Yes, "the mountain (the railroad officers, attorneys and the U. S. Senate) labored and brought forth a blind mouse." Let men who have common sense ask; what is a reasonable charge? Who shall decide what is such charge? Heretofore the railroads "charged," the people "paid," obeyed. Now, if Congress really is going to "regulate commerce," right here is the very place to commence.

If it does not, no matter what else it does, the whole is a

"sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." Did it do it? Not a word of it. What did it do? "Relegated the question back" to the railroad officers, attorneys and the commission." How is it done? The act provides, say the "commission," that "all carriers subject to the law are required to print their tariffs, for the transportation of persons and property and to keep them for public inspection at every depot or station on their roads." * * "Copies of all tariffs are required to be filed with this commission, which is also to be notified of all changes that shall be made in the same." So the railroads still "change" "reasonable charges;" but must notify the five commissioners of the last "amendment." Who shall "regulate commerce?" The constitution says Congress. Is the saying or deciding what "is a reasonable and just charge" for services by carriers a part of that subject? Every person of sense knows it is the very essence of it. Who shall "regulate commerce," according to this act? The "commission," by and with the advice, consent and printed tariff of the corporations furnished to them. It is a function delegated to the Congress, the law making department of the government. It is as much a function of Congress to do it, as it is to fix the rates for postage on the classes of mail matter; "to coin and regulate the value of money;" to fix rates of tariff duties on imports and regulate "weights and measures." It cannot "regulate commerce" in letter or spirit, without doing it. It was not intended by this act that it should do it, in any way to interfere with the tyrannical impositions of the railroad corporations.

In our minds we see this "Commission" "regulating commerce" in this regard. Complaint is made in this "court" or "legislature" or convocation of railroad constables (for it is to exercise the functions of all of them) that a "charge is not just and reasonable." Hats off, gentlemen, for now the five old grand dames called the commission, are going into "committee of the whole" to legislate. We see them in imposing array." Each with a railroad "tariff rate" in hand, a corporation president at one and a vice-president at the other elbow, and two railroad attorneys roosting on the back of his chair.

Thus lobbied and panoplied we think we see the five perfunctory legislative fingers, eager for an "unreasonable charge" as they slide down the tables of rates. The country is liable to hear something fall from Maine to Oregon.

The weary masses heave a sigh of relief? but there was no corporation cyclone or earthquake; the "commission" and the lobby finally agreed; and the "legislature" wiped its pensive brow after its Daconian labor, and the people sweat under their old burdens. On page 11 they reach the subject: (1.) "The carriers subject to its (the act's) jurisdiction," and from that to page 15 they wrestle with the momentous question, whether they are to "legislate" and be "court" and "constable" to regulate express companies.

After weighing the matter with wonderful railroad attorney legal acumen and splitting hairs with trembling solicitude, lest these

companies should expose the whole fraud, they inform us they will parley with and tease the express companies with like effect as railroads, for they are supposed to be included in the act. On page 15 they reach "the long and short haul clause of the act." The people reached the "water-haul" clause of the whole thing when they reached the one that left it to the railroad corporations and commissioners to fix the charges.

That those features of the act were made in the interest, and have inured to the benefit of the corporations, is well known. But it is discussed with great gravity. After proceeding over four pages, in which all we learn is that they did not *know* what the provisions of the act did mean, they conclude as follows:

"The act to regulate commerce was not passed to injure interests, but to conserve and protect." * * "Acting on these views, and in order to give opportunity for full discussion, the 'commission,' after having made sufficient investigation into the facts of each case to satisfy itself that a *prima facie* case for its intervention existed, made orders for relief, under the fourth section, where such relief was believed to be the most imperative.

And then the "commission" was put on wheels and went over the country "legislating," and now sitting to "parley" with railroad attorneys and their victims, (page 19.) On page 20 these commissioners admit in "some instances" they regulated the "long and short haul" by raising the rate of the "long haul." That was relief with a vengeance, for the people. "The considerations which were influential in determinipg when these temporary orders should be granted were not more the relief of the carriers from danger of loss than the *threatened disturbances* of business interests in certain localities, which by its reflex action seemed liable to embarrass seriously the entire country."—Page 20.

Was the intelligence of the American people ever before insulted by such stilted nonsense? That is administration of justice with a vengeance. That is to say, to-day the "court" or legislature made a law, or the law, and then rendered judgment, or made a "temporary order," and to-morrow changed the law and vacated the judgment or "order." Undoubtedly this was promptly done when the "commission" was shown it was necessary to the relief of the carriers from danger of loss. And of this drivel and nonsense to page 23, when they reach the subject, "The Filing and Publication of Tariffs."

They say, "But though the carriers make and file their tariffs, as required by the act, there is no general uniformity to the tariffs or to the classifications, either in forms or in general methods of preparation." That is to say, the corporations now, as they ever have, still do just as they please in these matters. And we are informed that the $100,000 appropriated for the first year's operation of the "commission," is inadequate to employ the clerical force deemed necessary to take charge of and classify the "one hundred and ten thousand books, papers and documents, showing rates,

fares and charges for transportation, and contracts, agreements or arrangements between carriers in relation to interstate traffic" (page 24) that have been dumped in on the old grand dames. The only wonder is, they are on top of it. But that mass of stuff is very *important* Yes, those rates, fares, charges and contracts and agreements or arrangements between carriers for pooling and other illegal purposes, embodies the law of "the reasonable and just charges" fixed by the railroads and dumped on the grand dames. Yes, they ought to have ten thousand clerks and a special train of twenty-five sleepers, with an engine at each end, so that when the court or legislature goes on wheels it can go in a style becoming its dignity, and take its clerks and records all right along. And let the people pay for it.

On page 24 they reach the subject, "General Supervision of the Carriers Subject to the Act."

"It is provided in the twelfth section of the act "that the commission hereby created shall have authority to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers subject to the provisions of this act and shall keep itself informed as to the manner and method in which the same is conducted and shall have the right to obtain from such common carrier full and complete information necessary to enable the commission to perform the duties and carry out the objects for which it was created. * * * * *

"This is a very important provision and the commission will no doubt have frequent occasion to take action under it. It will not hesitate to do so in any case in which a mischief of public importtance is thought to exist and which is not likely to be brought to its attention, on complaint of a private prosecutor."

The five old dames are growing brave; we wot not the railroad corporations trembled when they read this. Yes, when the venerable quintette of legal profoundity in addition to its "legislature," "court" and "constable" functions, resolves itself into a grand jury or "smelling committee" of the whole; well, yes, then the dear people will get relief with a vengeance. But they are not liable to do anything rash—no, they will wait to see if a "private prosecutor" will make "complaint."

But, if no one does, hats off again, gentlemen! for now, after a vigorous use of the bandana, each of the venerable quintette with his olfactories distended to the last degree of tension, is on the wind for railroad crookedness. Each one is out with a writ of "cum and ketchem;" and where do they go to get "information," on which to (1) make the law as a legislature, (2) file an "information" verified by the quintette of official olfactories, (3) after that is filed then take the bench and try the delinquent law breaker and his cause?

As we said, they are not liable to do anything very rash against the railroad corporations.

No! they go to the officers of the delinquents to get evidence on which to proceed; go to the rogues themselves to get evidence on

which "to take action." Yes, "this is a very important provision," it constitutes them "teasers" of the railroads for the people; they are "heap big Injun" in the "parley."

We come next, on page 24, to title V, "Complaints to and Adjudications by the Commission."

We suppose now they have found a "case" that requires them to "take action."

They file "inform tion," make the law and take the bench, to try the cause—something is liable to be done. But since all the judgments and "orders" of this tribunal are temporary and relate to the future and since the railroads still retains the right "to change the rates," by "giving prompt notice of the change" (page 24) just before this profound and august "court" gets at the trial of the "cause," the railroad corporation, files an amendment of the law and "tariff" of "reasonable and just charges" and then? Well yes! then the court is hung to say the least. It now lays off the lion's skin of judicial rigor and the legislative donkey goes into "parley" with the defendant, the criminal who changed the law to save his hide and suit his case. For shame upon such stilled drivel.

And now let thinking Americans hang their heads in shame as we read the following as to the relief granted to a private prosecutor should he make complaint.

"The Commission when such complaints have been brought to a hearing, has not discovered in the statute a purpose to confer upon it the general power to award damages in the cases of which it may take cognizance. The failure to provide in terms for a judgment and execution, is strong negative testimony against such a purpose; but what is more conclusive is that the act must be so construed as to harmonize with the seventh amendment, to the federal constitution, which preserves the right of trial by jury, in common law suits." Page 27.

A solemn admission in so many words, by these "legislators" "judges" or constables, grand jurors or what not, that no matter whether they have a "cause," or not, they can render no judgment to make any reparation for any past injury or to punish for any wrong the corporation may have committed. But they prate in stilted legal terms about orders, temporary orders, this tribunal making orders that can only relate to the future. That is they order the corporations, to do, or not do, so or so in the future, and the "relief" is that the railroad officers promise, or do not promise.

If they do or do not, it matters not, for if they do, this commission on its own solemn admission is powerless to "award damages" even or render a judgment or award an execution. Yet this quintette of legal profundities draw, with marked punctuality $7,500 per annum each and have the sublime impudence to ask for greater appropriations to heap upon the people. And now we reach page 27 and the title "Proceedings before the Commission." We think a truthful statement of "The Proceedings Behind the Commission and the Curtains," would be of more importance to the American

people. We are informed that the proceedings are informal and we should think as much. It is undoubtedly on the parley, tease, smell, order. It is a humiliating spectacle; this so-called "tribunal." that was to stand between the corporations and their abominable oppressions of the people, has no power, no dignity, no sanction, for its orders or judgments, indeed, can render no judgment. It is clear from the half apologetic style of stilted nonsense that they are in sympathy with the corporation oppression; or are spiritless pensioners, hanging on the corporation influence, as it is well-known that even this pitiful, nameless thing, the commission owes its existence to the corporation permission. It is this tribunal in which they make the law, declare the rates by which the people's cause against them shall be tried; or as they decree, not tried at all. On page 28 they treat the subject, VII, "Expense of Hearing." And we are informed, that even if on a "hearing" they should make an "order" against a corporation that it was doing unlawful acts," and should cease them, still it could not even tax the costs against the losing party, and it and its attorneys could go "out of court" making faces at the pitiful dupe, who knew no better than to think there was some relief here against their oppression; and in view of this situation we are informed, with great profundity, that they have sought to get the "parties to agree upon the facts." Yes, and then the corporations make the law and rate, and they are not liable to be demolished by a temporary order made.

But when that did not avail and there were many witnesses, since "the mountain would not come to Mohamet, Mohamet would come to the mountain." And the quintette would take (we suppose special train and a sleeper apiece) and go to the "cause" and legislate and decide it. Next page, 29, is title "Annual Reports of Carrier," of no interest to any one. On page 30 we come to title "Classification of Passengers and Freight."

And by a careful reading of the six pages devoted to this subject, the intelligent reader, can come to but one conclusion; that is that this whole subject now, as it always has been, is still in the hands and absolute control of the corporations. Many observations are made, that would be appropriate if made in a speech by a railroad Congressman or Senator on the floor of the House or Senate, on a bill pending that threatened to actually "regulate commerce" by fixing by law "reasonable and just charges; but to come from this "Commission," this legal and political *nullius fillius*, sitting up like five old owls to legislate on this subject of vital importance to the American people would be ridiculous if it were not such a badge and spectacle of the subjection of the people and their political shame.

After discussing whether freight rates should be based upon bulk or value of articles, and deciding according to the dictates of private greed. "It was therefore seen not to be unjust to apportion the whole cost of service among all the articles transported, upon a basis that should consider the relative value of the service more

than the relative cost of the carriage." And thus you will see, these old owls echo railroad "views" in all these matters.

Certainly, to them and the railroads, the "value of the service" is not the main thing; the corporations must have "the pound of flesh" without regard to *actual* cost of transportation. And they think they have established the railroad argument with this observation: "Such a system of rate making would, in principle, approximate taxation, the value of the articles carried being the most important element in determining what shall be paid upon it."

But it does not once occur to the minds of this quintette of old legal railroad owls, that the whole subject not only "in principle approximates," but actually is "taxation." And that the whole subject belongs to Congress; that Congress cannot delegate that function to either one of the other two co-ordinate departments of the government, the Judicial or the Executive, and much less to them. No such measure of relief to the over-ridden down-trodden people ever occurs to their astute legal understanding; they do not "suggest an amendment" on that line. No, that would be more than a *political opiate;* that would be more than was intended by the greedy corporations and the venal U. S. Senate. That would cancel their lien on the $7,500 per annum. They would not get an allowance of a few $100,000 more to hire a thousand or so clerks to record the "one hundred and ten thousand books, papers, agreements," et cetera, furnished them by the corporations, and that includes the law of the United States on the subjects of "reasonable and just charges." That would invade the policy of "how to seem and pretend, and yet actually *do nothing.*

And on page 33 we come to the subject of * "Voluntary Association of Railroad Managers." Our Commission seems to know more about this than any other part of the matter in hand. Yes, they *know too much* on that subject to be worth a fig to the interests of the people. The whole "Report" has corporation "ring" and "smell;" it has no other, and my witness will be every intelligent person who reads it. An argument is first made to disabuse the public mind of its prejudice against "consolidation" and "pooling of freights." It is demonstrated, by quoting rates, that the latter, especially, has been a great *public blessing.*

Before "pooling" rates in 1877, by The Trunk Line Association, the rates charged on the first, second, third and fourth classes of freights from New York to Chicago were respectively $1.00, 75, 60 and 45 cents a hundred pounds. They are now 75, 65, 50 and 35 cents, but the classification as to many articles has in the meantime been reduced, so that the actual reduction is greater than these figures would indicate."

Yes, the poor devil in Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, Iowa or Missouri, who ships corn, oats or wheat to New York, will have to send along only about two bushels to pay the "reasonable and just charge" of freight on the third; and he is doing well at that, in the estimation of these old owls, who receive $7,500 per annum to make

and print railroad corporation arguments at government expense, And they go on to show that a "similar result has been apparent elsewhere." These "good Samaritans," the railroad corporations, have been pouring the oil of "pooled rates" on the wounds of the public in a very neighborly fashion. And as a clinching argument in favor of "pooling," we are informed it "takes away the motive to consolidate." And we are in effect told, if we do not permit them to "pool" they will "consolidate," by "leases" and other means, in spite of us and our *valiant grand dames* of the commission. And having thus demonstrated that "pooling" is a great benefaction, they quote the provisions of the interstate law on the subject, positively forbidding it, as follows: "That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier subject to the provisions of this act to enter into any contract, agreement, or combination, with any other common carrier or carriers, for the pooling of freights of different and competing railroads," (page 34.)

So there seems to have been a difference of opinion between Congress and the commission on this subject. But that is immaterial. Congress, in fact, abdicated its control over the subject, and "relegated it back" to the commission, to act "with the advice and consent" of the corporations. We suggest that the five old donkeys shed their judicial ermine and lions' skins, and, with the "advice and consent" of the railroad lobby, repeal that obnoxious provision of the law. They have just as much and the same authority to legislate on that subject as on the one of fixing "reasonable and just charges of freights. They do not in so many words suggest to Congress to "amend," by such repeal, but that is all the meaning all they say on the subject has. We apprehend the sage observations on that subject, are matters of compromise and come from a divided "court?" or "legislature," or lobby. And here is another matter of comfort to the afflicted public. "Classification, also as has been said is not by the act taken out of the hands of the carriers, though a certain power of supervision in the commission, and classification is not only best made by joint action, but if it were not so made and the methods of the roads thereby brought into harmony, it would probably become indispensable however undesirable it might otherwise be for the law to undertake to provide for it." (Page 35.) So reader, here you see these tyrannical carriers by joint action with these five old donkeys and apologizers for their abuses and oppressions are regulating themselves in all these matters. Again we ask, was the intelligence and good sense of the American people before insulted by such stilled drivel and high sounding nonsense? That is just what these carriers have ever done and will ever do so long as such legal nonentities as this law and commission are all that intervene between them and the people. This brings us to page 36 and the subject XI, "Reasonable Charges." As a sample of the literature of which this Report is made, its one-sided apologies and insinuated arguments, as matter of extenuation or excuse for the abuses to which the public has so

long been subject, we quote *verbatim* pages 36-37 of it on this subject. "Of the duties devolved upon the commission by the act to regulate commerce none is more perplexing and difficult than that of passing upon complaints made of rates being unreasonable. The question of reasonable rates involves so many considerations and is effected by so many circumstances and conditions, which at first blush seems foreign, that it is quite impossible to deal with it on purely mathematical principles, or any principles whatever without a consciousness, that no conclusion which may be reached can by demonstration be shown to be absolutely correct."

Fellow-citizens, these are the cogitations of the quintette of "commissioners" who have taken the contract to legislate for you on the subject of "commerce," with the advice and consent of the railroad corporations. They seem to seize the subject with a trembling hand. There are so "many circumstances and conditions," at "the first blush" and we expect every blush that attempts to do anything that interferes within corporate greed, the commission will finally fall in with their views. And no matter whether they do or not the Commission is powerless.

The corporation can veto or change their legislation and law after it is made.

Or, if they violate it the "Commission" frankly informs you it cannot render even judgment for costs against the violations of their law. It would seem it would occur to the minds of the old legal grand dames to resign, but it does not. They take another pinch of corporation snuff and proceed as follows—with a clear unmistakable corporation ring.

"The public interest is best served when the rates are so apportioned as to encourage the largest practical exchange of products between different sections of the country and with foreign countries; and this can only be done by making value an important consideration and by placing upon the higher classes of freight some share of the burden that on a relatively equal apportionment of service alone would fall upon those of less value.

With this method of arra· ging tariffs little fault is found and perhaps none at all by persons who consider the subject from the stand-point of public interest." That is a principle it would be very well for Congress to consider; but for this commission to discuss such principles as governing it in its law-making is absurd.

Now it simply is used by the corporations as an excuse to commit extortion upon the owners of valuable merchandise. When a jeweler or other owner of valuable merchandise is robbed he is informed it is to enable the corporations to ship corn, pork, beef and other less valuable articles at lower rates. They charge the higher rates and their "commission" defends it. Who has heard of the reduction on the less valuable?

This is simply sneezing on corporation snuff. Page 37. "The want of steadiness in rates is commonly the fault of railroad managers, and may come from want of care in arranging their schedules,

or from want of business foresight." Why not give the well-known reason for want of "steadiness in rates?" Everybody but these old owls knows it is the deliberate means used to rob the public. "But more often perhaps it grows out of disagreements between competing companies, which when they become serious may result in wars of rates between them. Wars of rates when mutual injury is the chief purpose in view, as is sometimes the case, are not only mischievous in their effects upon the parties to them, and upon the business community, whose calculations and plans must for a time be disturbed, but they have a pre-eminently injurious effect upon the railroad service because of their effect upon the public mind." Yes, indeed, our commission are very solicitous as to "the effects" of "war of rates" on the the corporation "because of their effects upon the public mind." But they are in no wise exercised about the "war of rates," that has been waged on the American people for twenty years, only for some poor devil "whose calculations and plans must for a time be disturbed," by a rate perhaps half or one fourth less than he expected. Shame on the old owls, they unconsciously fall into railroads arguments at every page. It is all they know.

Again read—we think a railroad attorney penned the following "impressions made on the public mind," by "wars of rates" haunt the old grand dames and corporations.

"It may be truly said, also, that while railroad competition is to be protected, wars in railroad rates unrestrained by competitive principles are disturbers in every direction; if the community reap a temporary advantage, it is one whose benefits are unequally distributed and there are likely to be more than counter balanced by the incident unsettling of prices and interference with safe business calculations. The public authorities at the same time, find the task of regulation has been made more troublesome and difficult through the effect of a war of rates upon the public mind." Fellow-citizens do you pay this "commission" $37,500 per annum in salaries to act as a board of railroad attorneys to formulate and print at public expense arguments and suggestions to the corporations directing them how to reduce you to submission to the state of things to which you have been subject for fifteen years, and that it was supposed they were appointed to remedy? Here they discuss the effects of the "war of rates," not on you the sufferers, for fifteen years but the corporations, whose very unjust gains have made them so proud and insolent they sometimes cease for thirty days this war on you to war with each other. And the thirty day's war is the only one in which the corporation "notables" have any interest. They say to them, you are unwise to do it; you not only lose what you might earn in that time, but make our task "more troublesome" to reduce the public back to submission when your "war" is over by "the effect of war of rates on the public mind." That is to say your "war" teaches the "public mind" two things:

(1.) That you have, as you and we know, great and unjust

gains at stake or you would not war.

(2.) That you have such gains or you could not go to war as you do. By it you are simply exposing the imposition and fraud to "the public mind," that we are practicing on the public. Now if you want to establish our systems of imposition for time to come, you must not "war" on each other.

We will all have all we can do, commission and corporations combined to "regulate" them down to submission. That is just the spirit and intent of it. I have no patience to follow it further. It is an insult to the American people.

These are considerations that might be very well addressed to Congress by corporation members and lobbies in "memorials" and arguments to induce it to still permit them to make "charges" and "rates" if it were in fact in good faith proceeding to "regulate commerce" by enactments on that subject.

And it will be met with these very arguments in the mouths of that class of gentlemen whenever it does proceed to act itself instead of delegate the power to act to a commission. To thinking persons who have left a doubt of the power and duty of Congress to legislate on this subject of charges and rates and make them a matter of law, just as it does that of "postage," "duties on imports" and of "internal revenue" and the "rates of interest," on the public debt. we suggest the following considerations. If Congress does not have this power to do it itself, how has it the power to create this commission and authorize it to do it by "joint action" with the railroad corporation "managers?" If it has not the power how can it cede or grant it to another? If it has the power it is a "vested" one and Congress has no right to sub-let or delegate it to any one.

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." Sec. 1, article 1, Con. U. S., then follows qualifications of members, regulations for their election.

The law-making power of the government is vested in this body. "The Congress shall have power: To regulate commerce," * * "To make all laws which be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof." Same. Where then is the authority for the "Congress" to delegate to this commission power to "legislate" and make law on this subject of "commerce."

It is not debatable. The legislature of Missouri enacted a road law; then a section provided that the county court "might in its discretion suspend the operation of the same for any specified length of time."

Of this attempted delegation of legislative functions to the county court, the Supreme court of the State says:

"The Constitution of the State after declaring that "the powers of government shall be divided into three departments each of

which shall be confided to a separate magistracy," proceeds to vest the legislative powers of the government in these words: "the legislative powers shall be vested in a general assembly, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

The constitution of each house of the General Assembly is provided for in the constitution, the qualifications of the members and the electors who choose them; the mode in which bills shall be passed and authenticated is also directed and the machinery is complete for the exercise of the legislative power conferred upon the General Assembly. The power thus conferred is the power to make laws; anb the exercise of the power is entrusted to bodies of men who are supposed to be selected by the great body entitled to vote because of their prudence, wisdom and integrity. The laws to be passed from the "rule of civil conduct commanding what is right and prohibiting what is wrong," and that rule derives its force from the fact that it is the will of the whole people expressed by their authorized representatives in the form provided in the constitution and on subjects or questions on which the representatives have been entrusted to act. This power thus reaching every citizen in every relation and every interest is to be regarded as a sacred trust, which is to be exercised by those to whom it has been committed and every citizen has a right to demand that the rule for his conduct shall be established by that body in which he with his other fellow-citizens have vested the power." State vs. Field, 17 Mo. Rept., pages 532 and 533. The authority is not cited, for the prestige of reputation, but because on the principle and reason of the thing, not a word is left to be said. And our search now is for principle and reason.

To what one of the three co-ordinate departments of the United States government does this thing called the "commission" belong? To the legislative, the judicial, or the executive? Its report tells you it is to exercise, and does pretend to exercise, both, legislative, that is law making, and judicial, that is law interpreting, functions. It needs no execution, no sheriff or constable, for, forsooth, it *can render no judgment in any cause before it* for anything for a past injury, not even costs against the failing party.

But who are the "electors" who "voted" and choose these five old corporation owls to legislate and make laws for them, to regulate the extortions of the corporations and "commerce?" The citizens never consented to it, and its attempt is a violation of their sacred rights. If it may thus be violated, all may, and protection from the constitution and laws will thus soon be gone.

This brings us to page 41 and the title XII. "General Observations,"—of no interest to any one.

Page 42 is the title XIII., "Amendments of The Law." This we would suppose would be a very important and emphatic subject, that would occupy many pages. But no—the corporations are perfectly satisfied if they can hold matters at a *statu quo* under the old owls. And the quintette of old political owls are content to draw their stipend and hint only at an additional allow-

ance for clerk hire, in these words: "The commission ought also to have authority and the means to bring about something like uniformity in the method of publishing rates, which is now in great confusion, and to carefully examine, collect and supervise the schedules, contracts, etc., required by the law to be filed, as well as properly to handle the mass of statistical information called for by the twentieth section. For all these purposes as well as for others imperfectly provided for, a considerable addition to the force employed with the commission will be indispensable." And that will be enough; the U. S. Senate will second the motion of the railroad lobby and a goodly slice of the troublesome "surplus" will be duly appropriated thus, at the dictates of incorporate greed and will trouble the people no more. Less than a half a page is devoted to the subject of "Amendments." They do desire the Congress "to indicate in plain terms" whether the express companies are included in the act.

It makes no difference whether they are or not to the people. It does not once occur to them to "indicate" they would like to be relieved from the onerous duty of legislating on the subject of "reasonable and just charges," No, this quintette of legal political owls feel in every way quite qualified and competent to attend to this branch of the service. Or indeed, all they have to do is to record" and sanction the "rates" and "charges" furnished them by the corporations. And it does not once occur to this corporation quintette to suggest that it might be well when this tribunal hide the legislative ears of the donkey under the judicial lion's skin, in court in a cause to give them authority to at least render judgment for costs against the corporations that made an unlawful charge. Shame on such toadyism. Language fails to express the contempt that ought to be felt by the American people for this convocation of corporation "notables." It is just the same trick and subterfuge resorted to by tyrants in all ages to deceive the plodding people. That is to seem to do something for their relief and yet do nothing. It is the same trick as that of Louis XVI of France in 1789, when the people clamored for relief against the beastly tyranny of the Bourbons backed by the drones in the hive of society, the priesthood of the church and the nobility of the State. Yes, said Louis "we will grant you relief of our own choosing." We will summon the "Notables" of the clergy and the nobility who with us have robbed you the "third estate" the people for three centuries. That will be a good commission to parley with me over your grievances. The people answered; these same "Notables" as the First and Second Estates and you make common cause against us. We demand that you summon and convene "the States General." But Louis summoned the Notables and they wrangled over the subject whether they would share a slight part of the burdens of the people, that were crushing them in the earth, and did nothing.

Finally he was compelled to summon the States General the representatives of "the third estate." And then the States General the

people, by their duly elected representatives in their turn, summoned Louis and his priestly and noble robbers to meet in the same hall, presided over by him, to deliberate together upon the subject of the people's cause, grievances and constitutional liberty. But Louis and the classes who demanded "special privileges" demanded the right to own three-fifths of all the lands and three-fourths of all the wealth of France and to be exempt from all the burdens of taxation, said no. We will sit by ourselves in parley, and each order shall have a vote so we can vote you down. We will be your "commission" to fix reasonable and just charges of taxation and burdens for you. Our interests and ancient "prerogatives" are too old and too great, have been too long vested rights and involve too many interests of church and state, to be entrammeled by the captious and silly demands of the rabbel and common people of the third estate, in what you call constitutional safeguards, for civil and religious liberty. "Disperse you rebels!" go home and obey your master.

We are your "commission;" it is time enough for you to know the law, when we make and proceed to administer it. But the States General, like the "minute men and militia" at Lexington and Concord in 1776 failed to "disperse." They "dispersed" Louis and his traitorous tyrannical horde. So with the Charles I and II of England. The issue between them and the people was they would not submit their "prerogatives" to the regulations of constitutional limitations. They said we are too big, too much above the range of matters of common interest and human welfare to submit to this.

The people said, we do not think so; you shall thus submit or do worse, and all of them lost their thrones, and two of them their heads in the contest. Imperious human lust of power and greed of gain are the same in all ages, climes and conditions. And to-day, right here, under the stars and stripes in this "land of the free and the home of the brave," the very same, insolent, tyrannical, and if submitted to much longer as destructive claims to absolute power and prerogative, are insisted upon and are enjoyed by a class as ever were demanded and insisted upon by Louis XVI and Charles I. The very essence of tyranny and absolutism is, its refusal to come under, or if under to be governed by constitutional and legal limitations. That is the issue to-day between the Czar of Russia and his people, and that is the issue to-day between the American people and the money power, bank and railroad corporations. The argument all the time put forward, to intimidate and overawe the people and the few tribunes who stand up for their cause, is, their railroad and other interests are so great, so powerful, so wonderful, so multiform, and involve so many interests, it is an exception to all general constitutional and legal limitations; it would embarrass it to thus submit.

It will be remembered, we pointed that out, and it is the very first impression attempted to be made by the corporation "Notables" of the commission. And to more deeply impress this on those who read and to stagger the champion of the people's cause, they re-

sort to downright falsehood and try to make it appear that the railroad mileage of the United States has cost $54,301 per mile.

That it is so wonderful and complex and so peculiar in its relations and interests, it cannot be subject to common vulgar law-making by Congress to say what is "a reasonable and just charge" for its services, like an ordinary or extraordinary or any and every other interest. But it is enough for it to declare that "all unreasonable and unjust charges are hereby declared unlawful and are prohibited;" that is enough. Then summon five old owls with their backs piously turned to the light of constitutional civil liberty and their gold-rimmed spectacles peering with longing eye into the "receding" shades of "prerogative;" call them by that easy going name of a "commission;" and leave it to the First and Second Estate to say what is "a reasonable and just charge; provided always, that these "Notables" shall have the right to smell round and rub against and parley with the corporations. And provided always moreover, that when the railroad corporations change the law of "carriers" and the "rate" of "charges" they shall immediately, if not sooner, file a copy of the "change" with the "Notables." If the present United States Senate and railroad lobby had been on hands to mediate between the colonist and George III in 1776 there would have been "Revolution." They would have compromised by asking the English parliament to pass an act declaring that "every unjust and unreasonable charge (or rate of tax on the colonies) is prohibited and declared unlawful." Then they would have provided for the appointment of "a joint commission" of members of the English parliament to represent the English government and resident English governors to represent the colonists, and then they would have settled all questions of the "stamp act" and "taxation" to the satisfaction of—of well yes—of George III. And Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams or Thomas Payne would have been as small men in that "commission" as any true "tribune" of the people's cause would be in our "commission" of the corporation Notables.

Louis XVI would have submitted all his claims and "prerogatives" to a "commission" of "Notables" with no more power than our "commission of railroad Notables.

That is the power to let him make the law; let him say what was "a reasonable or just charge" or words that would be as general grant of power to him as this is to the corporations; and undoubtedly he would have agreed to inform them promptly and file a copy of it whenever he changed the rates and the law of taxation or any other subject. And Louis and the widow Capet would have died of old age, if not sooner of the gout. Yes, the present United States Senate would have been a glorious, big body of little men, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. We speak of it as a body; there are noble exceptions in it, but they are powerless. As at present constituted, it is the biggest body of the smallest men that ever disgraced the Congressional halls of an enlightened civilized country, except always the English house of lords. Our Senate makes her-

culean efforts to be as servile and venal; but not as yet being hereditary it fails in some respects. But it has fairly earned and ought to be nominated, "The Rump Corporation and Millionaires Parliament of the United States." It is time the people inquire "on what meat doth this our Cæsar feed that he hath grown so great." It is time to beware of a man, a class or an interest when he or it begins to demand legal and constitutional exceptions in his or its favor. The people must reduce the corporations to legal and constitutional limitations like every other interest or they will reduce them to greater extremities, than they ever yet have known. It is the nature of greed of gain and power, once over the line of constitutional limitations, to go on and on from bad to worse—like the grave it is never appeased, and over the constitutional limit, there is no bounds to it only that of expediency. Just as here—under the provisions of this act, according to the report of the men whose duty it is to enforce it; it is a law unto itself. They have power to let it fix the "reasonable and just charge;" then they have "power" to smell and tease round among corporation officials, the delinquents, the law breakers themselves, for "information" concerning violations of the law. And then when they do find there has been violation and have a "cause" they have no power to render a judgment even for costs. And the corporations have power to change the rates and law. And this costs the people $100,000 per annum and is not sufficient. The people asked "a fish" and the corporations and U. S. Senate gave them a "serpent."

It is one thing to show the utter inefficiency of this or any other measure; another to suggest something better. It is on its face a compromise between the patriots, who stood up for the peoples' cause on one side and the minions of incorporate greed on the other. The patriots undoubtedly accepted it because then it was that or nothing; they said it will an entering wedge, and it will. Pitiful as it is, it concedes the right and power of Congress to regulate the means of accomplishing this branch of the public service. In succeeding ones, the only debatable issue will be the means used to accomplish the end; whether it actually will regulate it, or relegate the matter back to the corporations, and a nameless powerless legal and political nonentity, like the commission.

Public necessity will soon put the boot of emphatic ouster and contempt behind our "rump corporation and millionaire parliament," as at present constituted. When once a Congress that has a *will* to regulate this branch of commerce takes the subject in hand it will find a way. But a way may not be sufficient; we must have the right, the just way. It must be done on just principles, for no other way of regulating such great human interests and affairs will stand the wear and tear of years. And, like the fathers framing the constitution, we now, in this matter, are doing a work for coming generations in the womb of the centuries; we must not, we can not afford, to have "tinkering."

The "Act" we have just reviewed sustains the same relation to

this agitation the Missouri Compromise Line did to the chattel slavery agitation. In each instance it is like treating a cancer with feathers and cream. All principles involved were and are violated in both. Both these spectres of human cupidity that have come to haunt and threaten our political peace and safety, stalked in upon us at points unguarded in the constitution; in their jealousy of encroachments from the government side of the compact, the fathers left the avenue of approach to both of these open wide. What is done must be on principles of justice, for all built on any other foundation, is like the house "built on the sand." When the storms of conflicting human interests "beat upon it" it will fall. If it does seem like a great undertaking we must clear away the rubbish heaped about the subject, by short-sighted greed, until we find the solid foundation of principle, there lay stones of truth and cement as we go with justice. Although Congress has power to regulate commerce, it has no power or right to do injustice to either society or the corporations in doing it.

We think these propitious and self-evident: (1.) A public service is one in which all have a common interest and must be controled and performed by government and from which in the very nature of things all expectation and hope of private advantage and gain must be excluded. (2.) Transportation is one branch of commerce and a department of the public service. It is admitted by the corporations to be such, when they ask the government to condemn private property for rights of way, as for a public use. (3.) In that branch of the public service, as in all others, all avenue to hope of private gain and advantage must be closed. On this point there must be no half way ground for compromise, on greed's side of the dead line of justice, it is no compromise at all; it is simply giving away the constitutional rights of the citizen for nothing in return. We are willing to concede all the merit due to our railroad and telegraph service; we know and we are proud of their achievements and enterprise. They have been and now are, in spite of their abuses, great aids in the hands of men to go forth into the world and "subdue it."

Private American enterprise has carried the shrieking whistle up and down our rivers, over our prairies, over and through our mountains to where "the rank thistle nodded in the wind and the wild fox dug his hole unscared." Pulsed civilization out into the wilds of the West, with its hot throbs of life and burning eye, waking the frontiersman up to shed his coon skin cap and fall in the ways of civilized life, perhaps a century sooner than he might otherwise have done. Under the electrifying rail, "The Great American Desert of the Atlas," of school-boy days, of men yet in middle life, has grown into States and territories, cities and hives of industry, a nation in itself. Nor do we see so much to condemn, that belts of territory were voted to them of the public domain, to assist in these enterprises. If we mistake not it is all there yet; they did not carry any of it away; now so regulate the matter it can be ap-

propriated for homes. True, private persons have made in that line of enterprise, immense fortunes; it was the fault of society, if any, to leave the door open. In this matter society has sat like a stupid dolt, with open mouth and only made ejaculations of surprise, at their feats of enterprise. It made no effort to regulate their endeavor in that direction, or to assert its rights. And the people hailed them as benefactors come to relieve them from backwoods and inland isolation, solitude and *ennui*; to start society and all enterprise forward at a new rate of speed; they said name your price; we will build your road, give it to you, and pay you for the privilege of riding on it.

Society treated itself in this matter, as a minor or imbecile "incapable of attending to its affairs." The corporations took it at its word. But now society begins to think and feel, it is about time it at least make an attempt to attend to its own business. But the guardians and "trustees" refuse to resign or answer concerning their trust. But society and its government must teach them the whole is greater than any of its parts; that it still has power to regulate and it will do it. The question is, what is justice between man and man in the situation? That is all society can ask and they must cede no less; all action taken must be on that line, or it will soon end in the mist and smoke of confusion. Let us briefly review the situation. Forty years ago the owners of this class of property said to society, if you will grant us rights of way through private lands, we will build railroads and telegraph for public use and benefit.

And the legislatures read the constitution on the subject "That private property shall not be taken for public use, without just compensation;" and took the view the constitution was made for man, and enacted laws to condemn private property for such use, upon payment of "just compensation." The corporations on this basis entered; and while they have been condemning and taking private property for compensation, fixed by appraisers or a jury, they and their attorneys dilate with great profusion on the fact they were "*Quasi*" that is almost "public corporations;" that they were going to be public servants and benefactors, the "trustees of a public trust," in this behalf. At that period of the proceedings all the emphasis and stress was laid on the *Quasi Public* features of the corporations. But soon as they were in, the ties and rails down, then the stress and emphasis passed to the *Quasi* almost private features of them. Then the corporation judges and attorneys dilated the other side of their mouths and expatiated with wonderful legal profundity, on the sacred protection of the constitution of "vested private rights." They still attempt to convince society, it is a minor, an imbecile "incapable of attending to its own affairs." And it as yet, sits like an open mouthed idiot, in a station house, overawed by the rantings of a police pettifogger in a "quasi" stupified condition. Let society rouse itself to a sense of its rights and duties in the premises. Let it say to these corporations to enable you acquire

your rights of way, you asserted you were going to be servants of the public and "trustees of a public trust."

But now you have denied and betrayed it. And now an exigency has arisen that demands of us that all avenue to private or incorporate gains in these matters be closed. In the inception of your enterprise, society exercised its right of eminent domain in your behalf. Now we have reached a point in the development of society and of the importance of this branch of the public service, when it has become necessary to again recur to the exercise of that retained right of government; to be used to accomplish the end of "the greatest good to the greatest number." Public necessity impels it; it is one has grown upon us like the question of Land and Land Limitation, the regulation and abolishment of the liquor traffic and others. Indeed we do not see that society, need take its hat off or bow very low, or take much time to make a speech to show this class of faith breakers and trust betrayers, that they in common with common mortals and the rest of mankind, must obey the behests of the law of necessity that attempts "the greatest good to the greatest number;" they must submit just as the poor man did when they came to his ancestral home, and condemned a way through his orchard, garden and the ancestral burying ground. There will not be very much actual distress among the millionaires when it is done. And pass a law to value, condemn and take their property for a public use; the value to be fixed at the time it is done.

That is absolute justice; that is doing to them as they have done to you; yes, and as we would that they should do to us. For society and its interests are greater than that of any class or part. Value their property by actual inspection, inventory and appraisment; not their bonds, mortgages and "watered stock" secured on such property, but just as they valued the poor man's land when they took it. It would not avail him and a mortgagee to have gotten up a special town plat of his land, or bogus mortgage on it for the occasion of the condemnation; so *now*, no such fraud shall avail that class of property holders. When they actually did pay money for rights of way, return it to them; that is sufficient, for they never had anything but the easement or right to use it for that purpose. The use of the land will repay the use of the money; and when rights of way have been given to them, they are not entitled to a cent, and to do them justice, all aid in building them, ought in fact to be deducted from the valuations fixed. For then they will have had the use of the vast sums given them by private donations public and municipal aid. But ascertain what is right; then the government society is able to own, maintain and operate it, if the corporations are; for the whole is greater than any of its parts.

As it is, the people have and will continue to pay for and return to them, every dollar actually invested in that species of property every fifteen years and still never own it. They are now annually taxed $5.17 per capita to support this branch of the public service

to pay the two items of interest on the "funded debt" and "dividends on stock." That does not include the millions paid in gilt edge salaries of fine haired officers and attorneys and money "put where it will do the most good" "in doubtful districts," and a hundred others of which society can get no account. Value their property on this basis of justice and the seven and a quarter billions claimed in the Report of the Commission will dwindle.

If this class of property and capital has so much potential actual value we would suggest that the volume of about 700 millions of dollars national bank and gold and silver certificates currency be retired and about 1,000 millions of the paper currency or be bottomed on this species of property as a basis to be secured by a non-taxable and non-interest bearing bond if thought best. And if interest or income at any rate was paid on any bonds to pay for such property, it would be on an actual value, and regulated by law, instead of on "watered stock" and regulated only by incorporate greed as now.

Then erect the Department of Transportation as another distinct branch of the public service; make the test of rates and charges to depend upon the amount necessary to make that department like the post-office self-sustaining. And until paid for to yield a sinking fund. And the operations of this department would not be as intricate, nor half the minute and complex transactions involved there are to-day in the post-office department. And it is well known to be the best managed and most economically administered department of business, public or private in the United States. Its very complexity of minute transactions compels the system of almost daily accounting of those engaged in its transactions and the scores settled and balanced; and the standing depends on accuracy in daily duty, and is handed to each employe monthly, like a school boy. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, in business, as well as everywhere else. Introduce a system of daily accounting and settlement and that principle and practice is expert and policeman combined to find and publish frauds; it thus becomes a matter of necessity and is the only safe and true principle of public or private business.

An exigency that calls for prompt and thorough action has arisen. Half way measures will not suffice. The argument usually made that such ownership and control tends to paternity and centralization of undue power in government, is only corporation dust thrown to blind the eyes of the people.

To advance that view is simply to argue that the "Congress" ought not "have power to regulate commerce." That is the argument if there is any in it. And the effect of it is that the corporations must retain the power to regulate themselves in this regard. For, if they do retain ownership, for what is it done, only that they may retain control of this species of property and the broad avenue to private undue gain from that control in this branch of the public service?

The great influence and power of that branch of the public ser-

vice, will continue right here among us, whether its acts and conduct be regulated by the sworn and responsible departments and officers of government, or by the irresponsible minions of incorporate greed. To the people it presents only a choice as to which class of regulation they will subject this branch of public service.

Yes, more than that: whether they will subject it to legal constitutional limitations and control, or it retain them as they now are under its dictates and control. As it now is, it is actually to a great extent "owned" and controlled by foreign alien capital that owes us neither allegiance or good will. Such foreign capital and inference not only has gone into and appropriated vast areas of our public domain, the peoples' inheritance, but has clutched and today actually "owns" vast interests in the "watered stocks" and capital vested in this class of property, by means of which the transportation of our country is effected; and thus "eats its bread in the sweat of the face" of American freemen; thus has an actual direct control over their public affairs and welfare in this one of the most important branches of their public service.

CHAPTER XII.

MONEY—ITS NATURE, USE AND ABUSE.

We come now to consider the second great means used by men in a state of society, in the exchange of the products of their minds and hands. It is one branch of the great subject of commerce; there can be no civilization without commerce; there can be no commerce worthy of the name without transportation and money. Transportation carries the commodity from the producers to the consumer's market. But in the market the two parties are still separate; although barter is the real effect of the exchanges made, it cannot be made in person; it is made through the agency of the dealers. In the transaction of a barter, the first consideration is the relative value of the articles exchanged. To determine this there must be some unit of value. To ascertain what this unit of value is, let us suppose a case of actual barter. A proposes to exchange a pair of shoes he has made with B for a coat he has made. B says and shows he was employed ten days in the labor of preparing the material and making the coat.

A cannot show that he was employed more than five days in preparing the material and making the shoes. B will therefore say to A you ought to give me two pairs of shoes for the coat. The material in one instance is the hide, in the other the wool of animals.

It is valued in the first instance by the actual human labor it

costs to gain or produce it. So we see at a glance the value is estimated according to the human labor and time necessary to procure of produce the article. And the unit of human toil, of labor, of time, in our universe is the day. Time is an element of every thing in this world good or great; and the day is the sand, the unit of time of human life and endeavor. And we reach the simple, but fundamental truth, in political economy, that the day's labor of an ordinary man, is the unit of value. In a savage state, little attention is paid to it, for then the things bartered, come to the owner more as a matter of chance than from actual daily toil.

But as a community passes from the savage to a civilized state and their possessions become the fruit of their daily toil, then they recur to it as the unit of value. This original unit of value is one thing; the price that may be the result of the fluctuations of the market, influenced by considerations of a local nature, such as supply or demand is quite another. Time is the element that gives the higher price for professional, scientific and artistic labor. In each of these fields of human endeavor the laborer is required to spend years of toil, at expense, to fit him for the services that now command the higher price; so with skilled labor. The days of his remunerative toil, have been shortened by the years of study or apprenticeship and so to speak, he receives the price of two or three day's labor in one. Along with this also sometimes comes in the consideration of the unhealthfulness and danger of the employment that necessarily shorten the time of toil. And genuine special talent commands a higher price, because of its scarcity, just as do pearls, gold and diamonds. This unit is abstract, in a sense and real in another. It is real in its actual cost to the person who performs the day's labor; it is abstract, an idea only, in the market; it cannot be weighed, handled or tested only as it appears in the object produced. But in the market it is so constantly recurring, is so often used, in comparing things and talked of so much, it actually becomes a thing, in the minds of men and they actually do with this idea of value as they with every other in such a case; they materialize and personify it. On the same principle they reach the weights and measures, the pint, the quart, gallon, bushel, yard stick and pound. And this materialization of the value is called money; just as the others are materialization of the ideas of quantity.

The idea exists prior to the personification; the thing signified prior to the signification. The necessity for money is an outgrowth of civilized society. The dealer becomes the agent of the parties in society and they require him to make their exchanges as to value, in money they have agreed shall represent a day's labor, as the unit. The money of a country is an exponent of its status upon the standard of civilization, whether barbarian, semi-civilized or civilized. The American Indian had his wampum, strings of shells, skins and bear's claws. The African his gold-dust and ivory; the Japanese and Chinese their rude copper and other metal pieces; the Americans and Europeans their finely executed and artistically

stamped coin and currency. In a savage and atomized state of society, men always use some tangible thing of intrinsic value, at least to their minds. It must be something they can seize as they do their bows and poisoned arrows and war clubs. They cannot comprehend and indeed their atomized and isolated States negatives the idea of the faith in men and their organization in society and the credit and confidence they repose in each other that indicated in writing, printing and insignia upon a fragile piece of paper, gives it currency and causes it to pass for value. They are below that conception of human character.

They cannot conceive the fact a man or a community will do aught they have agreed or promised to do only as they are compelled to do it by force. Hence such people in war never practice the military parole of honor, or exchange of prisoners; they must have the prisoner, his life or a hostage. It is only when men have made some advancement in civilization they commence to use paper money as currency; that is a money, that has no intrinsic value. When done it is a certificate that men have made some considerable advancement and have reached as a society or community the standard of moral and intellectual excellence that they have and do exercise faith in man, in his integrity, in the aggregate, in society and in the law of contracts, as enforced by the courts

And their mutual necessities and convenience lead them to give to each other, personified in their government, the mutual faith and credit that is the basis of a paper currency. They take the parole of honor; they do not demand "hard money" or one that has an intrinsic value, or a hostage.

Thus we see that "hard money," or a money of an intrinsic value, is only a relic of barbarism.—an affliction that ignorant, half savage men, by reason of their little, mean, mutual mistrust, impose on themselves. And we see the subject of money is one that involves the element of the consent of the people as a whole; that is their sovereignty and government. The idea of value is materialized, so it may be counted and handled as money. That is, for a matter of convenience, the value represented by a days' labor of an ordinary man shall be valued at one dollar, or such sum as it is worth, by common consent. And that value should be materialized in such or such a piece of metal or paper, and stamped with the inscriptions and devices designated by law. And in civilized society legal tender money is a creature of law, either paper or metalic. For gold or silver bullion is no more legal tender for debt than brick or unstamped white paper. Hence, in all civilized countries the money making and regulating power is one, ceded by the people to their government, and must be exercised by it. Our constitution vests this power in the Congress, the legislative department of the government, in these words:

"The Congress shall have power * * to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures." * * "To regulate commerce with the

foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes." * * "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the the United States, or in any department or office thereof."—Sec. 8, Art. I., Constitution U. S.

Let us consider these powers in the order named.

1. "The Congress shall have power." That is, these powers named are vested in it; it cannot cede or delegate these powers, that is, the power of law making, to any department or officer of government, much less to a private, natural or artificial person. It means the Congress shall make all laws to regulate and enforce these "powers," and shall not delegate it to any one.

2. "To coin money." That is, to pass laws to provide for mints and mintage of money, of what material it shall be made; if of metals, its weight, alloy, stamp, inscriptions and denominations; if of paper, its size, inscriptions and devices, denominations and effect as a legal tender. This power it must *exercise itself.*

3. "Regulate the value thereof." It is admitted by these words that to "coin" it, name its denominations, as quarter, half, and dollars, does not include the whole duty of Congress in this behalf in the minds of the framers of the Constitution. In a sense Congress regulates the value of money when it enacts a law declaring the fractional currency shall consist of copper one cent pieces, nickel five, and silver ten, twenty-five and fifty cent pieces. And that the legal tender, national bank, and gold or silver certificates shall be of such or such denominations. But that is not half the duty of Congress in this behalf. The power "to coin money" means and includes the powers to issue or emit and put and keep it in circulation. This duty is recognized and enforced by Congress in making it a crime to clip, punch or mutilate the coins it stamps, emits and thus puts in circulation; to the same effect and for the same purpose are the penalties of the law inflicted for counterfeiting the current coin and currency of the United States.

In actual practical use among the people money has two values; first its denomination fixed by law, when it is coined; second its buying power determined by the number of legal tender dollars in actual circulation for use in payment of debts, its "volume." To the people, the latter value, of *money*, is much the more important, for it is the one that is manipulated by those able to handle, and "corner" the money market, and thus actually make a cheap or a dear dollar, as they choose. For the government "to coin money" and then abandon all control of it, is to practically abdicate its authority over the whole subject. It is like a mother who gives birth to, and then abandons her child, to live or die, to perish as an infant or struggle to man's estate.

The power "to coin" includes and means the power to issue and keep it in circulation.

"Nor can it be questioned that when investing the nature and

extent of the power conferred by the constitution upon Congress, it is indispensable to keep in view the objects for which those powers were granted. If the general purpose of the instrument is ascertained, the language of its provisions must be construed with reference to that purpose and so as to subserve it." Knox vs Lee et al, 12 Wallace U. S. Rept. The Great Legal Tender Decision. The purpose of the power to coin money vested in Congress was to supply the people with a legal tender money, uniform in value, sufficient in volume to meet the growing demands of a great, free enterprising and commercial people. And for this purpose, "Whatever power there is over the currency is vested in Congress. If the power to declare what is money is not in Congress it is annihilated." (Same authority.)

The second value of money has to be "regulated" after it is coined and go on its mission of debt paying from the mints.

Akin to this duty of Congress and named in the same connection is the one to "regulate the value of foreign coin;" thus demonstrating that it was in the minds of the framers of the constitution that "to coin money" and set it afloat outside the doors of the mint did not do the full duty of Congress in that behalf, eitheras to its own coinage or foreign; that it was to follow it out on its mission and "regulate the value" of both while outside the doors of the mint. For common sense shows and the person of ordinary understanding can see that 600 millions of coined money heaped in the vaults of the U. S. Treasury or of the bank for a series of years, so far as its actual use to the people as money is concerned, might as well have never been coined or have been in the heart of the earth It is the available volume of money that actually circulates among the people, as money, for debt paying purposes, that determines the second or buying power and value of the dollar. This can be demonstrated by precept from the highest authority and by example. The logic of the situation is very simple and is this. To make money scarce, makes money dear. To make money dear is only another name for making wages and property cheap. There is always a direct ratio, between the buying value or power of the dollars and the volume of the legal tender dollars doing actual duty among the people as such. If the "volume," the number, is small, the buying power of the dollar is great; or vice versa, as the one increases or diminishes so does the other, in an increased ratio.

An example. In this country in 1865 there was an actual volume of currency, that served the people, as money, of about forty eight dollars per capita. Day laborers were in demand and could command from one to two and a half dollars per day, and so continued until the contraction of the currency commenced about 1868. All kinds of employment flourished; private debts were paid with an alacrity never known before in the history of the country and three mortgages were canceled, as shown by the record, to one made and recorded. But in 1868 a class of men who "eat their bread in the sweat" of other men's faces, commenced to clamor for the En-

glish, European, sersdom policy of "contraction and resumption." And our Congress and Executive Departments of our government, were converted or bribed to champion the European, English and medieval, monarchial systems of finance and overturn that of a modern and republican one. The system of "contraction to effect resumption," was inaugurated and pursued, with crushing effect upon the commerce and industries of the people; with such terrible and unprecedented effect, that instead of a volume of circulating medium of money of about forty-eight dollars as in 1865, it was about thirteen dollars per capita in 1873.

Then came the "crash," "Black Friday" "the panic," almost a total suspension of payment of private indebtedness and private enterprise, carrying ruin, disaster, bankruptcy, in its train, strewing the years 1873-4-5-6 and 7, with the ruins of private fortunes and business.

In 1877 instead of common laborers commanding one to two and a half dollars per day wages, three millions were out of all employment, one million driven out of house and home as "tramps." And for the first time in the history of the Republic came that talismanic name, coined in and imported from the tyrant-cursed and nobleman and priest-ridden, bloody ground of Europe to be engrafted upon and into our political and financial literature along with the kindred family of names, "Resumption," "Honest Money," "Hard Money" and the "Boom." And from 1873 to 1878, lands that had been valued at 30 to 50 dollars per acre and mortgaged for 10 to 20 per acre would neither produce enough at the prices of products to pay the interest nor sell for enough to pay the debt.

The enginry of the bankrupt courts was called into full play and we had 3,000 bankruptcies in 1874 against 600 in 1865, that is five to one, and suicides increased in about the same ratio.

In the political campaign of 1880, the Republican party published the records of the county in Indiana in which Wm. H. English, a national banker, lived, then on the democratic ticket for vice-president of the U. S., showing that this "friend of the people," in the years 1874-75, had bought at foreclosure and tax sales nearly 800 different pieces of landed property at a sacrifice of about $200,000 below the assessed value, that being about one-half the real value of them.

In our opinion this was only publishing the private shame of Wm. H. English and the public shame of the Republican party. For, to admit it all, he had only taken advantage of the conditions and class legislation enacted, aided and abetted by it.

Discussing this subject on the floor of the House Mr. Garfield said "whoever controls the volume of the currency, is absolute master of the commerce and industries of the country."

The idea cannot be more forcibly expressed. The monetary commission appointed by Congress in 1873 composed of three Congressmen and three Senators in their printed Report, Vol. 1, page 10, say: "That an increasing value of money and falling wages

and prices have been and are more fruitful of human misery than war, pestilence or famine."

The contraction of the currency from a volume of forty-eight dollars per capita in 1865, to thirteen in 1873, multiplied the commercial value, the buying power of the dollar by three.

It multiplied the value of the property of those whose means was in money or obligations payable in money by three and divided the value of all other property, by the same factor. And all done in the short space of nine years and according to law. We look in vain in the bloody annals of the middle ages, in the freaks of the crowned block-heads, Louis XVI or Charles I, and their predecessors for measures that in effect were more arbitrary or that wrought more general havoc of the rights of private property.

(4.) "And of foreign coin." As already shown this proves that it was in the minds of the framers of the Constitution there were duties of Congress that extended to the currency at a date later than its coinage. This the Congress does not coin or emit. It refers to that, that naturally will find its way from one to another civilized country.

It will be seen why this power of Congress over the subject of currency, is so often referred to when it is pointed out to the reader, that "the Congress" has actually abdicated government on this branch of its duty as to about 340 millions of dollars of national bank, nearly one-half of the paper currency of the country. Not long since it will be remembered, the Mexican dollars was common among us; although it and the trade dollars each contained more silver than our standard dollar coined under the law of 1878, yet each of them only passed for eighty cents; they were not honored with the fiat of the law of legal tender.

(5.) "And fix the standard of weights and measures." Weights and measures are the materialization of the abstract idea of quantity as money is that of value. And the regulation of both comes under and actually would belong to Congress, under its vested power "to regulate commerce," if not mentioned here. For Congress could not regulate commerce, without regulating these, the one the exponent of quantity, the other, that of value. The weight or measure is the label on the package or bottle indicating how much; the money, the label on the same, or to be applied to it to indicate its value.

It is manifest on a moment's reflection, that both subjects must be regulated by the same mind; or there would be none at all, for if one mind regulates one and another the other, one or both will be constantly shifted to meet the ideas of values or machinations of greed and speculation of the other. What would it avail for Congress to "coin money" and declare its value and the States or some other power, then to lengthen or shorten the yard stick to make that value of money comport with its ideas of value? And Congress has no right to delegate its control over either of these subjects of commerce at any point in their use and application in the marts of trade. It

would be no more a perversion of the constitution to permit the national bankers, to manipulate the yard stick, or the hundred weight, than it is to delegate to them the control of the volume of nearly one-half of the currency of the country and thus determine the commercial value, the buying power of the dollar.

For as Garfield said, "Whosoever controls the volume of currency is absolute master of the commerce and industries of the country."

(6.) "To regulate commerce." That is to regulate and control the three great means by which it is accomplished in a civilized country, namely, transportation, money, and weights and measures; that is to go back to the original transaction, the barter, in order of time, (1) the carrying from producer to a consumer, (2) mark the quantity, (3) the value. It takes the regulation of these three great kindred functions and their joint operation to consummate that great patent fact, civilized commerce.

They are the fourth trinity of ideas and facts into which our subject naturally divides itself. They are each public in their nature; each involve the performance of functions of a nature and over which from the situation, the citizen can have no control; the performance of functions all power over which he ceded to and vested in the "Congress," with express understanding that it should exercise them as public functions, as branches of the public service, as arms of the State, in which all have a common interest; and from which from the very nature of the case all avenue and hope of private gains, must be forever and uncompromisingly excluded. For, if any avenue to private gains by means of private control be left open then it is in so far a private function and one in which all citizens do not have a common interest; and the letter and spirit of the constitution are negatived in so much. From these self-evident propositions, that challenge the assent of every well regulated unprejudiced mind, we deduce the general truth; that it is not only the duty of the government to own and control the means by which that branch of commerce and the public services is performed called transportation, but also that of money; if the ownership of the standards of weights and measures, was in itself a fact, that figured (as it does not) in that function, it would be compelled to and own them too. The difference is that in that instance, the ownership of the implement by which the weight or measure is determined is a matter of no concern: in both the others from the very nature of things it is the very *sine qua non* of government, or any other control. The two facts of private ownership and that complete government control that is necessary are as irreconcilable, as physically and morally impossible as that two and two make five. And our experience for twenty years as a nation emphasizes our deductions. Congress in a degree recognizes and performs this duty of regulating the value and superintending the currency on its mission in the hands of the people, by making laws to prohibit the clipping, mutilating and counterfeiting it.

But while it thus jealously guards against the rills that break over or through constitutional constraint it leaves the flood gate up, for the actual control of 350 millions of national bank currency, by bank corporations; it strains at a (private) gnat and swallows a (corporation) camel, as usual.

(7.) "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and other powers vested by this constitution, in the government of the United States, or any department or officer thereof." That is to say that all laws that effect the monetary and commercial interests of the citizen of the United States, must be made by Congress. It shall not shift or delegate duties that involve the interests of the citizen to any "other department or officer" of the government; much less to a railroad corporation and "commission" or a bank corporation, and the only question to be asked and answered to determine whether a subject involves the duties and powers vested by the citizens in "the Congress" is, does the exercise of the duty, power, or function, materially effect the interests of the citizens.

If so, it was "vested," in "Congress" as, and to be, a public one. The "control of the volume of currency" we have seen is one that is more powerful to affect and sacrifice property than the power to control or change the standard of weights and measures would be; or to levy and collect taxes. These provisions are as plain as general language, such as must be used in a constitution can make them. But no constitution alone is any safe-guard against human cupidity; "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The assaults of greed upon the constitutional safe-guards, are as insidious as the action of the water on the dykes of Holland. A mere seep that like a needle is scarcely perceptible, permitted to exist, grows, swells, until it bursts through, a torrent, and the low-lands for miles are flooded. If the American people will act like clowns and craven cowards to give them our noble constitution, is like dressing a hunch-back imbecile, in the regimentals of a hussar. It was framed by and for men "who know their rights and knowing dare maintain; who crush the tyrant while they rend the chain." If they have no spirit, if they will submit like "dumb driven cattle" even if the chattel slave-holder did not "call the roll of his slaves under Bunker Hill Monument, the wage slave-holder and usuer will; yes, foreclose his mortgage on it and us.

We now invite the careful attention of thoughtful readers, while we demonstrate to their minds and convince them that our constitution in all these sacred provisions concerning the subject of money, is ruthlessly and contemptuously trampled under foot by aggregated capital and monied corporations. That this violation is deliberate, cold and calculating and involves a no less treasonable purpose, than to succeed on their part to the ownership and the control of the volume of the paper currency of the republic. And thus to occupy the Stautus so powerfully described by Garfield as "absolute master of the commerce and industries of the country." We

are aware this is a grave charge; it is an act of treason against the constitution and republic before which Arnold's pales into insignificance; and compared to which, "firing on Sumpter" was innocent. It is an act of treason, the enormity of which cannot be comprehended, without hours of study. It is a crime against the country, race and age, the refined villainy of which can now scarely be conceived and for which the criminal calendar makes no provision. Such moral and political felons can only be tried at the bar of an intelligent public opinion.

At that bar we propose to try that class by their acts on the law and the evidence. The readers shall be our jury. This purpose was conceived about the time of the close of the late civil war; perhaps with some it was mature at the time of the first enactment of the National Banking Law. Let us take a general view of our finances at the close of the war. At that time there was 350 millions of dollars each of legal tender and national bank currency; this is not just correct, but near enough to serve our purpose now. The public debt of August, 1865, was stated in round numbers at $2,750,000,000. While there was considerable volume of other paper evidences of public indebtedness, that circulated for a time as money, yet none or all of it approximated in any degree the importance of the legal tender currency. They only made any promise of competing for the field as money with the national bank currency.

We see at a glance if the national bank was to be the paper currency of the country, the legal tender must be driven out.

(1). Is there a motive to induce such action on the part of the banks? Does capital invested in national bank stocks and U. S. bonds enjoy any especial privileges? We will suppose a national bank organized in 1865. It must be composed of at least five persons and they must own at least fifty thousand dollars of U. S. bonds to be deposited with the controller of the currency to secure the ninety (90) per cent. or forty-five thousand dollars of circulation; that is national bank notes struck at government expense and delivered to them. The association continues to draw interest at an average rate of four per cent. per annum on the bonds and they are untaxed as good as two per cent more, six per cent income.

On the $50,000 this is $3,000.00. We will suppose the average of circulation is $30,000 per annum; this they loan over the bank counter at a rate not to exceed the legal rate of the State or territory where situate; the average will be about eight per cent; deduct one per cent paid on circulation and we have seven as the rate and $30,000 as the basis and $2,100.00 the income from this source, the total $5,100.00; or over ten per cent per annum income, on every cent invested. To say nothing of the other sources of income and advantages that naturally attend the business; such as "deposits" often yielding greater profits than its own capital. But we want to carry your assent as we go. On $350,000,000 of currency owned and used by the system deducting one-third as we did, for "re-

serves'' or failure to loan, and we have the actual volume in circulation by the whole systems, in round numbers as $234,000,000 per annum. The annual interest or income on this $23,400,000 and in ten years it is just equal to $234,000,000—or equal to the circulation at simple interest, and this repeated each decade the systems lasts.

And this the American people pay for the constitutional right, guaranteed to them by their government; that of the use of a sufficient volume of legal tender money to carry on the commerce of the country. Pay it to whom? To their government as a tax to support it?

No, into the private pockets of a class of leeches, who have fastened like the railroad corporations upon a branch of the public service and farm it and rob the people for enormous private gain. This class of corporations tax the American people for the right to use their own money, $4.60 per capita per annum. They and the railroad corporations, full ten dollars per capita per annum for the right to live and exist in their country in a civilized state for their transportation and money. Nor is this half their avenue and motive to unjust and extortionate gain. The thinking mind sees at a glance they hold now one-half the currency volume, one-half the power that was exercised by Congress from 1865 to 1873, that of contracting the volume of the currency in concert with other monied corporations; and thus at at any time they may multiply the value of their money by two and cause the debts of the country to be paid in a dear dollar; and thus enhance their wealth by enormous per cents in one year. For there is no law to compel them to loan money; for them to refuse to loan is to ''contract the volume of the currency,'' doing duty in the hands of the people to any degree they choose to about 50 per cent of its volume; can you see a motive on their part to seek to drive the legal tender notes, the other half the people's currency from the field? Once in circulation the entire volume of legal tender, as such, do not cost the people, their government $1000 per annum; nothing only to register and re-issue those that become worn and frayed by use. The same volume of bank notes cost the people, other than the bankers, $23,400,000 per annum; the legal tender notes a sum too trifling to be named in that connection. The people pay them for their bonds notes in interest each ten years, and yet never own them, and we think enough is seen to show the unholy motive that has led that system to attempt to drive the legal tender notes from the field and occupy it themselves. If they could accomplish that then they would cost the people annually $46,800,000 per annum.

On the other hand if the situation were reversed and they were driven from the field the $46,800,000 now actually paid could be applied annually to the extinguishment of the national debt. Yes the motive of greed is too plain to be mistaken.

(2). Have they made an effort to destroy the legal tender notes and since 1878 the coinage of silver and supply their place with

bank currency? To do this, provision must be made to perpetuate the banks.

To do that at least a portion of the national debt sufficient to be held by them as securities for their issues of notes, say from seven to ten hundred millions of dollars of it must be perpetuated.

And to this end they have persistently contended for every measure whose tendency was in that direction; and opposed every one that favored the payment of the debt.

In the so-called "act to strengthen the public credit enacted by Congress in 1869, they took great interest. By providing that bonds paid for with depreciated legal tender notes, that recited in their face they were "payable in lawful money of the country," should be paid in coin, the effect was to add about twenty-five per cent to the value of the bond and its burdens to the people. One of the truths that is impressed upon the mind of an intelligent observer of the manipulations of the financial management and legislation of the country for twenty years in this matter is, it is palpable and clear that this banking influence has converted to its unholy, unjust and extortionate purposes every president of the United States since Lincoln down; every Secretary of the Treasury, since and including Hugh McCullough of 1864, and every Controller of the currency.

Every one of these officers have prostituted their high trust to its dictates, in recommendations and arguments to the effect. (1). That it was the tacit understanding when issued, that the legal tender notes, soon as possible, should be withdrawn from circulation; that they were a "war necessity" and now should be "refunded" in interest-bearing bonds. (2.) That they were unconstitutional as money in time of peace, and therefore could not be legally re-issued since the war ceased. (3.) That to accomplish a "Resumption of specie payments" they must be retired and refunded into long term bonds. If an intelligent reader desires to be fully convinced of the truth of this we cite him to the messages of the presidents, the "Reports" of the Secretaries of the Treasury and the Controllers of the currency on the subject. They are shameless, brazen, groundless arguments against the peoples' money, 350 millions of dollars as we have shown that did not cost them $10,000 per annum, to compass its destruction, so it might be supplied with one (not a legal tender, as the bank notes are not only for certain purposes) and that would add to the already overtaxed, overburdened people, a load of $350,000,000 to the principal of their interest-drawing national debt and $56,800,000 per annum in interest, to have the very same volume of paper currency they have had. Our purpose and space will permit only a few quotations to prove what we say.

"The United States notes commonly known as legal tender notes regarded as a substitute for money are an anomaly in our monetary system, tolerable and possible only in the exigencies of civil war—the offspring of its perils and limited to its necessities.

To allow their continuance as such after the cause which justi-

fied their existence had ceased, is to violate the conditions of their inception and to sanction what was only tolerable as a necessity by impressing upon it the stamp of legitimacy. The purport of the legal tender note was and is a promise to pay."

Report of B. H. Bristow, Secretary of U. S. Treasury, "Finance Report of 1876" page (13), and "Finance Report 1875" from page (9) to page (26) covers nearly one-half of his printed report "Finance Report 1874" page 10 to 13; this suborned officer prostitutes his ability and high station to arguments to destroy the legal tender notes and praise and show the beauties and advantages of the National banks. Insinuates the legal tender notes are "illegitimate." If they had not been coined out of the faith and patriotism of the common people to save it, the Republic he thus traitorously sought to betray might not have been in existence to pay him the salary he did not deserve. By the use of such arguments as the above the Congress was induced to enact the famous or rather infamous "Resumption Act." We ask thoughtful readers to get this law and read it for themselves. It should have been named an act to destroy the paper fractional currency, the legal tender notes, put national bank currency in their place and perpetuate them and a part of the national debt. It had no other purpose in view.

It provides first for issue of thirty millions five per cer cent untaxed bonds to buy silver to coin into our present fractional currency. Next that all the restrictions upon national banks as to the amount of currency they might issue was repealed. They could give us a greater or less volume of currency as they choose, we were to be at their mercy.

Next the Secretary of the Treasury was to issue bonds to buy legal tender notes and destroy them, until only $300,000,000 of them remained.

Then on and after January 1, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury should issue bonds and buy "coin" and redeem the legal tender notes as fast as they fell into government hands and to destroy them.

The effect of it was to refund the legal tender notes into thirty year four per cent bonds, untaxed and put national bank notes in their place. And that was the "resumption," for which our subsidized presidents, secretaries of the treasury, controllers of the currency and a subsidized press, had clamored for ten years. We invite thinking readers to dwell here a little. The law is entitled, "An Act to provide for the Resumption of specie payments." What does the word "resumption" mean? It is made of two latin words, *re*, meaning *again*, and *sumere*, to take; so that literally it means to take again. As used in our financial literature it means to take again, to resume the "specie payments" we had at and prior to the commencement of our late civil war and from which we at that time departed. Hence to really know what it means, if anything we must inquire the nature of the "specie payments," from which

we at that time departed and to which this act "provides" we shall return; or we shall resume.

We have neither time or space here to dilate upon the state of the national currency, at and prior to 1861. Sufficient to say it has been denounced and most truthfully by the champions of the national banking system as one of the most stupendous frauds until that time. It was a system of "red dog" and "wild cat" paper currency, issued by irresponsible State banks and purporting to be "a currency based upon and convertible into coin." In fact as a system, as the sequel, in the day of trial showed, and as a sample of bank honesty, it proved to be a system, in which from $16.00 to $1,000 paper currency, "was based upon and redeemable in $1.00 of coin," and this is the "specie payments we must pay the modest sum of $74,800,000 per annum to our modest national bankers to "resume." Does it seem the accommodation is worth the price? If this was and it is what it means, if it means anything, does it not present a cheerful prospect? A system that "suspended specie" or any other payment seven times in forty years, once in each six; a system that at the first shot fired on Sumpter in 1861 "suspended" and slammed its iron doors in the faces of an outraged and dumbfounded people? And you can see at a glance if the banks could drive the legal tender notes from the field, and supply their place, with bank notes then the sole fact that would stand between us and a resumption in truth and fact of the "red dog," "wild cat," currency of the ante-bellum times, would be the payment of our national debt.

For in that case, the banks would have no bonds to secure their issues of notes and we would actually have no security. Yes "resumption" like every other measure of tyranny and absolutism, like an owl, on the dead limb of a dead tree, turn its back to the light of the rising sun and coming day of the future and hoots longingly after the receding night. It is native and indiginous to the tyrant trodden, blood and tear stained and ashes strewn ground of Europe. It belongs to the political family and era of "the divine rights of kings" and that "a national debt is a great national blessing."

It means to turn back on the road of advancement and progress; re-take, re-occupy an old, a deserted, a passed camp-ground, go back to the past; and like spiritless slaves, drool and drivel for the servitude and "the flesh pots," of the masters in Egypt.

Let us consider the cold realities of the effects of this act in actual cold, hard, dollars to be wrung, from the sweat and toil of the American people, by its greed dictated and devilish provisions.

First then, as to the fifty million dollars of fractional currency to be "redeemed."

Only forty million dollars of it ever could be found, so the government made $10,000,000 on the transaction of issuing, paying out and redeeming it; a consideration of twenty per cent of the whole volume. But government issued $40,000,000 thirty year five per cent untaxed bonds to buy silver to make our fractional half and

quarter dollars and dimes. Let us see how we will stand as a people on this transaction in thirty years when the bonds come due.

The five per cent annual interest untaxed is as good as a net income of seven per cent simple interest per annum; of course it is paid quarterly in gold in advance, as interest is paid on all U. S. bonds.

The annual interest is thus $2,800,000 per annum; in thirty years it will be $84,000,000 we have paid; at that time the principal $40,000,000 will also be due.

Another factor is the truth shown by the statistics and history of the mintage; that silver or gold coin in actual circulation as money, is worn, clipped and destroyed as such in thirty years.

Let us now state our standing on this transaction at that time and we have:

Principal of bonds due	$40,000,000
Interest paid to that date	84,000,000
Silver coin lost	40,000,000
Total due and out that day	$164,000,000

That is the absolute state of the account as it will stand on that day. We ask any man with any sense to answer what the American people have received for that immense sum? Nothing in their world, but the astute and childish pleasure to jingle and tear the pockets out with our base fractional coin, our bank and bond-holding masters say is only worth eighty cents on the dollar.

And what have we now for this immense expenditure? The $40,000,000 of bonds due; we can do as we choose, pay them, or "refund them, for another thirty years; yes and "resume" "shin plaster" paper fractional currency, or issue $40,000,000 more bonds, to buy silver to coin in its stead. But how in the mean time does the matter stand, with our masters, the thieving manipulators of our currency and finances, who do it, by such means as this "Act to provide for a resumption of specie payments?" They have the whole $124,000,000 interest and principal, now in pocket; and more than ready to induce us to clamor like fools for "honest hard money," God's money:" for then they can re-loan it to us on same terms of last thirty years, and well do they know "the borrower is servant to the lender."

Cannot a man with the brains of a lobster see the motive to all this European Resumption clamor that has drowned out every evidence of American common sense in relation to our financial system for the last twenty years, and has substituted the ideas of European "Resumption" and English in common sense?

With a subsidized press and a prostitution of two departments of the government to its devilish purpose, in this matter, the legislative and the executive, this bank influence for twenty years has been and is to-day almost omnipotent, upon this subject in our country. And it was the damnable purpose of the act to do with the entire volume then (1875) of the legal tender notes, $367,-

000,000, the very same thing was done with the fractional paper currency; only they were to be refunded into thirty year four per cent untaxed bonds. We now ask thinking minds to go with us, while we contemplate the fiendish malignitw of a mind that could conceive and attempt to put upon its trusting, unsuspecting fellow-countrymen, the measures of tyranny it contemplates.

And it was promptly and piously pursued by that Arnold of the people's cause, the Hon. (?) John Sherman as Secretary of the U. S. Treasury until arrested in the midst of his and the banker's treasonable plans by the terms of the law of May 31, 1878.

But let us suppose they had carried out as they were promptly proceeding to do, the provisions of the act for redeeming the legal tender notes; it was no fault of theirs they did not succeed.

First it added $367,000,000 principal to the national debt and thus conduced to their end always in view of perpetuating at least $700,000,000 of it to be held by the banks. The interest four per cent and the exemption from taxation as good as two per cent per annum makes the actual income from that principal full six per cent per annum; an annual charge on the people of $22,020,000. In thirty years this at simple interest would be $660,600,000. The national bank notes if the people had any money in their place, say $350,000,000 at 7 per cent per annum, would be an annual charge of $52,500,000. In thirty years it would only be $1,575,500,000. Now let us state our account with the Bankers and Bondholders at the day of settlement, as it must come, although put off thirty years:

Principal bonds due	$367,000,000
Interest paid on them	660,600,000
Interest on bank notes to supply place of legal tender notes	1,575,500,000
Total paid and due	$2,603,100,000

A sum greater by $15,000,000 than the entire national debt at the close of the war, 1865. If that measure had gone into effect how much of the debt do you think would have been paid at that time?

We ask any man to point out what advantage would have accrued to the American people for all this intolerable burden, that was thus sought to be heaped on the people by their Secretary of the Treasury and the banks and their ignorant or willing tools in Congress?

They would have had no more currency than they have had and are now having unless forsooth, the bankers did conclude to eke out and loan them a little more; and then they would have to pay for it in same ratio. The only change would have been the people would have had a volume of $700.000,000 of bank notes instead of about half and half of each bank and legal tender notes.

It is difficult to conceive of this sum. It is an annual charge of $74,500,000.

At a cost of $25.00 per month or $300 per annum, it would

pay and support a standing army, every year of the thirty of 246,000 men. That is the "legacy" that your Honorable (?) Secretary of the Treasury (Sherman) and his colleagues in treason and crime had prepared to hand down to your children! They and their children to be nobles; we and ours ignobles. They and theirs "lenders" and masters; we and ours "borrowers" and servants. That it may be seen we have not overestimated the cost of this banking system to the people, we quote from a speech of this same precious Secretary of the Treasury, while he was an U. S. Senator and before he was induced to betray the people's cause, on the floor of the Senate in 1868. He said of the banks—

"There is nothing in their business, nor their condition, that commends them in an especial manner to the fostering care of Congress. They are 1,600 in number, with a capital of $400,000,000, upon which they draw from the Government a yearly interest of $24,000,000. This sum is paid them with the privilege of fleecing the people out of $50,000,000 more."

Thus in 1868, he said their annual cost to the people was $74,000,000 when they only owned one-half or less of the paper currency of the country when they were only 1600 in number, now they are 2800. Undoubtedly our estimate is far below the truth. But we want to carry the assent of thinking minds. True the damnable purpose of the act was arrested, when the public suffering and indignation cried out against it. Our precious Secretary of the Treasury was doing the work of his bank masters as punctilliously as a galley slave, when arrested by the act, entitled "An act to forbid the further retirement of the legal tender notes," enacted May 31, 1878.

Which it did, and ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to reissue all that came into his hands. By this act, May, 1878, the main provision, all of the Infamous Resumption Act was repealed only that part of it that related to refunding the $40,000,000 of fractional currency; and that too before the day set in the Act for "Resumption" January 1, 1879. If the damnable and tyrannical provision of that Act were necessary "to effect resumption;" that is that national bank must be substituted for legal tender notes at an annual cost to the people of $74,500,000, equal te the annual cost of a standing army of 246,000 men per annum, how did it happen that "Resumption came? or did it come without it?

If it did then that fact alone stamps that treasonable provision of the act as one compared to which Arnold's treason and "firing on Sumpter" were innocent as a crime against the country and race without parallel in modern times. If it was necessary as this Secretary and all the others, time and again asserted, then we have now no resumption. Our Secretary and the bank oligarchy of treason can take either horn of the dilemma they choose. When the American people awake to the sense of their serfdom, as they will, either one will be too hot for them to enjoy the situation. Our Secretary was like a thief taken in the act by the law of Congress of May

31, 1878. He and the bankers were sore dismayed, that they were not permitted to compass the destruction of the legal tender notes under the provisions of the Resumption Act. In his and their "Report" to Congress printed at public expense, "Finance Report, 1879," page 10, the old bank attorney quotes the provision of the law, 1878, requiring him to "re-issue and pay out again" all legal tender notes, and then proceeds to argue they could only be paid out for "coin" or "bullion." And thus he and they hoped to and in a measure did evade that provision of the law. And then this officer of the government, paid out of its treasury, using its money to print and publish his treasonable arguments at the suggestion and dictation of his bank masters proceeds to make the point and argument against the peoples' money that it cannot, constitutionally be a legal tender in time of peace and paid out by the government, as follows:

"The Secretary respectfully calls the attention of Congress to the question whether United States notes ought still to be a legal tender in the payment of debts. The power of Congress to make them such was asserted by Congress during the war and was upheld by the Supreme Court. The power to issue them in time of peace after they are once returned is still contested in the court. Prior to 1862, only gold and silver were a legal tender. Bullion was deposited by private individuals, in the mints and coined in convenient forms and designs indicating weight and fineness. Paper money is a promise to pay such coin. No constitutional objection is raised against the issue of notes not bearing interest to be used as a part of the circulating medium. The chief objection to the emission of paper money by the government grows out of the legal tender clause, for without this the United States note would be measured by its convemence, its safety, and itsprompt redemption."

And of this ad infinitum. Thus did this old political reprobate in the interest of a "a class" prostitute his high office and assault the peoples' money. Foiled in destroying it and heaping on his confiding and suffering fellow-countrymen, a burden of $74,-500,000 per annum, he now seeks to accomplish the same purpose by destroying the legal tender quality of that money. Even if they were not legal tender, even then they were as good a currency for the people as the bank notes. And this old apologizer for bank tyranny knew it. But to destroy their legal tender quality put them in the power of the banks to refuse to receive them and thus "their prompt redemption" would be accomplished.

He had already stated in this same report the legal tender notes were then on a par with gold. The whole volume of $346,000,000 then nor any year since cost the people $10,000 per annum and served every purpose of money.

But that was just the reason this old ingrate sought their destruction as a currency that on his own statement in 1868, cost the people and paid the bankers the sum of $74,000,000 per annum

might be substituted in its place. And think one moment of the financial ruin such a measure as the sudden and unannounced repeal of the legal tender clause of the legal tender note, then a volume of $346,000,000, in the hands of the people, as advised and contended for by our Secretary would have caused! Our panic of 1873 would have been mild compared with it. And in line with this "recommendation" of his is the following on page 14 of same Report. "He again respectfully calls the attention of Congress to the importance of further limiting the coinage of the silver dollar." And why do this? On page 10 of this Report when assailing the legal tender note he said: "Prior to 1862 only gold and silver were a legal tender. Bullion was deposited by private individuals in the mints and coined in convenient forms and designs indicating weight and fineness." And on that bases an argument the legal tender clause of the legal tender note, was unconstitutional, it was only "a promise to pay money," coin. That is the very effect of the silver bill of 1878; the government buys the bullion, coins it, at a rate, not to exceed four nor less than two million dollars per month and makes money in the operation at the rate of about ten per cent on all the coin handled. And if the owner of bullion prefers it he can have silver certificates in convenient denominations to circulate as money and leave the coin or bullion in the treasury. That is "a currency based upon and redeemable in coin," the only one the country ever had. And that these bank shylocks pretend was what they sought and contended for in "Resumption." We would suppose they would be pleased with "the coinage of silver." Are they? They have fought it as mercilessly as they have the legal tender note. Why? Because they do not, can not, own and control it, as a volume and loan it to the people; because government does not give it to them.

It puts a money in the field in competition with their bank notes. The fruition of their hell-born conspiracy, against the liberties of the Republic is, they shall own and control the volume of the currency. Hence the assaults on the "coinage of the silver dollar," in common with the legal tender notes. And when he and his subsidized successors have been unable to secure a repeal of the silver coinage law, they refused to obey its mandates and have issued the silver certificates, in denominations too great to be used by the people as money in denominations $500 and $1,000. We call attention next to Report of Charles J. Folger's "Finance Report 1881" page 10. Here we learn that at that time, there were then issued $96,000,000 of silver certificats and $34,000,000 of standard silver dollars in actual circulation among the people. On next page this subsidized official shows his indecent haste and eagerness for the banker's cause and desire to betray the people in this language: "As is said elsewhere herein the circulation of some sixty-six millions of silver certificates seems an inexpedient addition to the paper currency.

They are made a legal tender for the purposes named, yet have for their basis about eighty-eight per cent. only of their nominal value.

There is no promise from government to make good the difference between their actual and nominal value. There need be no apprehension of a too limited paper circulation. (No certainly not.) "The national banks are ready to issue their notes in such quantity, as the laws of trade demand (they being the judges) and as security therefor the government will hold an equivalent in its own bonds." And the idiots, the people, can borrow the bank notes as money at the rate, seven per cent per annum; pay for them each ten years in interest and yet never own them. He seems to presume upon their ignorance; as their plans unfold and he and the bankers fear defeat, their audacity betrays them.

Certainly the banks are ready to issue the paper money of the Republic and have been for fifteen years only too eager to do it. This Secretary of the Treasury, like the rest, thinks the people are too dull of comprehension, to understand the effect of his, the bankers' and bondholders' conspiracy. And on page 12 of the same Report, this servant of the shylocks pleads their cause against the people in this language: "This department has little to add to what has been said in former reports from it on the notes known as legal tender notes. That they are convenient and safe for the community is without doubt. That it is also for the profit of the government to continue them is also without doubt. Yet there is one consideration that should have notice and that is whether the government can continue to claim for them, the quality of being legal tender for debts. This department understands that the constitutionality of making them a solvent of contracts, was founded in the exigencies of the government raised by the civil war."

If they are at par with gold as they have been since 1879, "convenient and safe for the community," and "it is for the profit of government to continue them," in the name of the great American people and the world's republic, who has an objection to them? No one but the traitorous horde of bond and bank ingrates who want to and have for centuries eaten "their bread in the sweat of other men's faces" by levying their devilish systems of perpetual usury drawing debt upon the people, and here we have the humiliating spectacle of a bribed, sworn officer, as their mouth-piece, making an argument to strip the people of their legal tender money coined of their faith, credit and patriotism and baptized in their blood and tears, and thus sanctified, in the war to put down the chattel slaveholders' rebellion. And this shameless attorney has only done half his dut when he has assaulted and tried to outlaw and destroy the legal tender note. No, here is the standard silver dollar still coined at the rate of $2,000,000 per month or $24,000,000 per annum. It is crowding his bank masters in the field of the peoples' money.

Yes, there is another currency that does not bring any income to his bank masters; he must need strike it and the peoples' cause

one more blow. Hear this pettifogger of the tyrant's cause, page 15, same report." "The silver question obviously is one that demands the early attention of our law makers or the subject may drift beyond our (that is his and the banker's) control, unless control is retained at a great sacrifice." (To whom we ask? Who complains of silver but this official and his confederates.) "A continuance of the monthly addition to our silver coinage will soon leave us no choice, but that of an exclusive silver coinage and tend to reduce us in the commercial world among the minor and less civilized nations." * * "It is therefore recommended that the provision for the coinage of a fixed amount per month be repealed and the Secretary be authorized to coin only so much as will be necessary to supply the demand" he and his bank confederates being the judges.

They have always claimed there was no "demand" at all for the coinage of the standard silver dollar, that it is dishonest and a fraud. This sworn salaried officer and expounder of the constitution of the republic has the sublime impudence in the interests of a class to ask "the Congress" to abdicate control on this subject and turn it over to his control in direct violation of the letter and spirit of the constitution. Once done, farewell to the coinage of silver. for he and the banker would conclude none was "necessary to the supply the demand." These men have so long gone unrebuked and unwhipped of justice, they have the impudence of their English political ancestors and of the devil when he took Jesus up into an exceedingly high mountain."

We shall quote from the messages of but two Presidents to Congress; first, that of Mr. Arthur in 1882. He clearly discloses the policy of the conspirators to prevent and retard the payment of the national debt; his zeal ran away with his discretion in this language in that document.

"Such rapid extinguishment of the national debt as is now taking place, is by no means a cause for congratulation; it is a cause rather for serious apprehension. If it continues it must speedily be followed by one of the evil results, so clearly set forth in the report of the Secretary—either that the surplus must lie idle in the treasury or the government will be forced to buy at market rates its bonds not then redeemable, which under such circumstances cannot fail to command enormous premiums, or the swollen revenues will be devoted to extravagant expenditures which our experience has taught is ever the bane of an overflowing treasury."

Is not that a piece of profound statesmanship? The "rapid extinguishment of the national debt," that is, a little over half of it in twenty years, is no matter of congratulation. No, indeed, to the national bankers, presidents, secretaries and controllers, who have racked their brains to devise ways and means *how not* to pay the national debt. For if paid it relegates their banks to the shades of the past. If this "extinguishment" is so rapid as to be a ground for "serious apprehension," we suppose none at all would relieve

them. It is a mild way of trying the English doctrine "that a national debt is a national blessing," on the American people.

The following from Mr. Hayes' message to Congress, 1879, shows his ignorant or wilful servility to the plans of the oligarchy:

"There are still in existence, uncanceled, $346,681,016 of United States legal-tender notes. These notes were authorized as a war measure, made necessary by the exigencies of the conflict in which the United States was then engaged. The preservation of the Nation's existence required, in the judgment of Congress, an issue of legal tender paper money. That it served well the purpose for which it was created is not questioned, but the employment of the notes as currency indefinitely, after the accomplishment of the object for which they were provided, was not contemplated by the framers of the law under which they were issued. These notes long since became like any other pecuniary obligation of the Government —a debt to be paid, and when paid to be canceled as mere evidence of an indebtedness no longer existing. I therefore repeat what was said in the annual message of last year, that the retirement from circulation of United States notes with the capacity of legal tender in private contracts, is a step to be taken in our progress towards a safe and stable currency, which should be accepted as the policy and duty of the Government and the interest and security of the people."

They were "a debt to be paid;" yes, paid over and over again to an anglicised alien bank oligarchy and aristocracy. Yes, sir, you and the whole cordon of treason have "repeated" over and over again your foul, treasonable arguments, recommendations and commands But, thank God, the people have not yet complied with your desires.

But some of our readers may say, that is all of republican administration; wait until there is a change. We will only quote enough from Secretary Manning's "Finance Report, 1885," to show no change was made in the policy, unless the bank conspiracy is more audacious under the new than the old:

On page 15 the Secretary, under the title "Currency Reform," shows that all the reform he seeks is to undo all that has been done in behalf of the people in this matter in the last twenty years. He says: "Currency reform is first in the order of importance and time, and fitly precedes other reforms, even taxation reform, because it will facilitate all other reforms, and because it cannot safely be deferred." (These are very just observations; but we shall see this minister of the republic proceed to reform all that is just instead of the abuses. He commences to reform at the same end of affairs that Louis XVI. and Charles I. did.)

"The coinage act of 1878 is overloading the mints with unissued, the sub-treasuries with returned silver dollars, and will unavoidably convert the funds of the Treasury into these depreciated and depreciating coins." And this official used all the power of his department to defeat the benefits of the silver, coined as a money

for the people, as was clearly pointed out by Senator Beck in his memorable speech and expose of the villainies of that department, practiced for years, in the debate on the bill to suspend silver coinage. This unblushing Secretary writes of this matter as if the coinage and money of the country was made for bankers only. Who ever heard of the standard dollar being "depreciated or depreciating," in the estimation of anybody but this cordon of unstriped convicts? He continues: "The disorders of our currency chiefly arise from the operation of two enactments: 1. The act of February 23rd, 1878, which has been construed as a permanent appropriation for perpetual treasury purchases of at least $24,000,000 worth of silver per annum, although, from causes mostly foreign, that metal is now mutable and falling in value,) which must be manufactured into coins of unlimited legal tender and issued to the people of the United States as equivalent of our monetary unit."

Yes, this, the first victory of the people over organized conspiracy of legal and political scoundrelism in twenty years, must be repealed as the first step to "reform;" that is, to "reform" the republic to subjection to the minions of greed. Hear the second great cause of complaint of this bribed official:

"2. The act of May 31st, 1878, which indefinitely postponed the fulfillment of the solemn pledge (March 18th, 1869,) not only of "redemption" but also of "payment" of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, legalized as $346,000,000 paper money of unlimited legal tender, and required the past-redemption issue and re-issue of this promise to pay dollars to the people of the United States as equivalents of our monetary unit."

The bank flunkey actually seems mad; how he and the bankers cling to that solemn, suborned pledge of 1869. He does not remember, when speaking contemptuously of the legalized $346,000,000 paper money," that the banks, during the same period, owned and issued a volume nearly as great of "paper money" that was not legal tender. He forgets that the American people were saved the sum of $74,500,000 per annum every year since, by the patriots who enacted that wise measure; saved to them a tax equal to a standing army of 246,000 men per annum, at a cost of $300 per man.

But what enrages him is, the people retain this, and the bankers cannot *rob* them of it. Here is what Senator Beck, of Kentucky, said in a speech on the floor of the U. S. Senate, Feb. 9th, 1885, of the bank influence of to-day, in the debate on the bankers' bill to strike down the coinage of silver:

"Yet to-day, in order to force us to strike down silver, these banks, in violation of the law, are combining with others, although they are prohibited by the very act granting their charters from doing so, and are refusing to receive silver certificates, for the purpose, of course, of making them less valuable, the laws of Congress to the contrary, notwithstanding. Mr. President, I do not care to argue this matter elaborately, indeed, I do not care to do it all, but when we discuss it I think it will be shown to the satisfaction of the peo-

ple of the country that the present condition is the result of an *unlawful combination*, organized in part by men who are our fiscal agents, our creatures, living under our law, having only such authority as we see fit to give them, and yet they are publicly defying our authority, because they think it is their individual interest to do so. They are endeavoring to drive silver and the silver certificates which we have provided for out of existence, in order to bring gold to a premium, and thus embarrass the government of this country."

And our Secretary Manning was a party to the conspiracy, as every one of them has been since 1864.

"With officers to enforce the law we have law enough, with officials here, to compel them to obey it. We have law enough, but there is no effort to punish them, and never has been anything but pretenses."

Mr. Morgan.—"If I understand the statement made by the Senator from Kentucky, a member of the Committee on Finance, it is that the banks have deliberately violated the laws, the criminal laws of the United States; that the Secretary of the Treasury reports these violations to Congress and to the Committee on Finance, and instead of there having been any proceedings taken to punish the men who openly and flagrantly violate the law, a mere admonition is served upon them that hereafter they must do better than that, or else they will be dealt with. Is that the situation?"

Mr. Beck.—"That is the way I understand it, substantially."

Mr. Morgan.—"Last spring I received quite a rebuff in the Senate for having invited the Committee on Finance to look into this question, and make a report upon it. The resolution that I had the honor to introduce was referred to that Committee, and they *sat down upon it*. They have got it still in the Committee, without having paid the slightest attention to it, I believe; and now it turns out, from the statement of a member of the Committee on Finance, that all of those able Senators have been cognizant of the fact these crimes have been committed; that the President of the United States has been cognizant of the fact these crimes have been committed, and that they have not got the power to call these criminals to justice, and punish them for the violation of the law. I will further add, if the Senator from Kentucky will permit me, that there is no use multiplying statutes merely to be dishonorded by the Senate of the United States by its constant ignoring of crime committed against law, which they refuse to take any step to insist shall be punished."

Congressional Record, Vol. 16, part 2, pages 1461 and 1462. This was plain, speaking in the teeth of some of the Arch Conspirators and "criminals." The first plain truth spoken on that floor for twenty years, on that subject. Thank God for two tribunes of the people, two unterrified, unbribed Romans, who dared tell the criminals of their high crimes and treason to their faces. What a humiliation! Two Senators of the United States, on their oaths, fac-

ing that depraved body, telling it in plain terms of crimes and acts of treason; at which it "winked." That law, made for that class of criminals "was constantly and persistently ignored" by them and the President. And no political ingrate or scoundrel among them, dared attempt to refute the charge of these patriots; if they did, they knew the *half had not been told* and the expose would only be more merciless

The policy of that class is "addition, division and silence" Treat such unbribed, fearless patriots as Senators Morgan and Beck, Congressman Weaver, of Iowa, and others, with silence?

It remains to be seen whether they can carry out that policy; if they can, farewell to the liberties of the republic. "They who sleep upon their rights, will soon awake amid their wrongs." The American people "are amid their wrongs" and are still asleep. Can any one now doubt the organized assault of the banks upon all other species of currency, the legal tender note and the silver coinage and certificates, all but that of gold? That by undue and criminal influence it has converted two departments of government and their officers to obey its behests? What feeling but that of contempt can be inspired for a government that will punish petty offences of clipping or counterfeiting a few coins, or a little currency and then "wink" at wholesale conspiracies to violate and public violations of the law committed against its currency of ten hundred times the magnitude?—The only difference is, the one class of petty offences are committed by poor individuals; the wholesale crimes, akin to treason are committed by wealthy corporations Our "Rump Corporation Millionaire Parliament" as usual "strains at a (private) gnat and swallows a (corporation) camel" without a blink

The National banks never were intended to be a permanent institution of the country by the men who created them. It has ever been the policy of our government to pay in time of peace the unavoidable debts contracted in time of war. But for these banks to be permanent about a thousnd million dollars of the debt must be made perpetual. The measure of the banks was a compromise with the minions of greed to secure the passage of the legal tender acts. And the men who enacted the first law tried to restrain them by many wholesome provisions. In no case were they to have and issue more than $300,000,000 of bank notes; they were to be distributed over the States and territories according to population ascertained by the census; they were in no case to have currency to exceed ninety per cent of the principal of bonds, pledged for its redemption; they were taxed one per cent per annum on circulation and for revenue on checks and drafts. One by one they have assaulted every one of these provisions and now the last one is gone. No limit on the amount of currency they may issue; they may have currency to the par value of the bonds and the taxes are repealed. Not only that it has gone into the cabinet of the executive and officers of heads of departments and into the Congress and by nameless and undue influences secured such action and legisla-

tion as is a public scandal and are positive subversions of the Constitution. (1.) Was its shameless and brazen intermeddling in procuring the so-called "Act to strengthen the public credit in 1869.

In fact it was intended to and did add twenty-five per cent to the public debt in value to the bondholders and in burdens to the people and tended in that much to perpetuate it. In fact it did not "strengthen the public credit," as the value of the legal tender, as our barometer of that fact since it has been in existence, shows our credit rose faster by one-half before than after the passege of the act. (2). Was its undue influence seen in the fraud practiced on the country in demonetizing silver in all sums over five dollars under the pretense of Revising the Laws concerning the mints and coinage in 1878. (3.) In the Infamous Resumption Act, passed for no purpose, but to destroy the fractional currency and the legal tender notes and put bank notes in their place. If its provisions had been carried out, we would now be absolutely at their mercy as to the volume of the currency. "Whosoever controls the volume of the currency is absolute master of the commerce and industries of the country," said Garfield, one of the ablest advocates of their cause against the people whoever spoke upon the subject. (4.) But in 1878 a little spirit of resistance to its tyrannical assumptions was shown in Congress. In February came the remonetizing and coinage of silver at the rate of not less than two nor more than four millions of standard dollars per month in the discretion of the Secretary of the treasury; since they and the banks were hostile to silver coinage only $24,000,000 per annum has been coined. And in May, same year, came the law to arrest the further destruction and require the re-issue of legal tender notes and repeal the infamous tyrannical provisions of the "Resumption" act. These were the first defeats of its influence. Since 1878 the house has had a little red blood of the people in it. But our Senate and the executive department with its cabinet has always and yet stand fast allies of the banks. They stand as true to it as the Nobility to Charles I, the "Notables" to Louis XVI and the hessians and tories to George III. Since 1878 it and its allies have made headway but slowly in the face of the rebellion of the House to its tyrannical purposes. But defiant in its unpunished course of crime it determined to assault and carry and use for its purposes the last stronghold of the constitution and the peoples' liberties, the conscience and heart of the nation, the judicial department. It said to itself if by fawning treason, brazen impudence and undue influence, such as has succeeded with the Senate and Executive Department, this one can be carried to subserve our purpose, then is the peoples' cause and their money, the legal tender notes, overthrown.

Then the "dumb, driven cattle," will be subjected to servitude by a decision of the highest tribunal of the country. Just as the "chattel slaveholder" in the last extreme of his cause and in the height of his "pride" that goeth before destruction," sought to draw a decision from that court to sanction his unjust assumptions in

the famous "Dred Scott Decision." So now the "Wage Slaveholder," will have a decision of the Supreme Court, declaring that the great American people, "in time of peace," and for "their own convenience" and "the profit of their government" cannot keep in circulation among them for domestic use, a volume of $346,000,000 of legal tender notes without the consent of their bank masters. That is to say that the "wage slaves have no rights that their bank masters are bound to respect." Yes, said our bank masters among themselves, we will secure a decision that shall declare the legal tender acts of Congress so far as the legal tender quality of the treasury notes are concerned, have been and now are unconstitutional. Our "Dred Scott Decision," will reduce the House and people to their position of servility and subjection occupied until 1878. And by this decision we can pay all expenses; for in thirty years after the destruction of the legal tender notes at the rate of $74,500,000 interest on bonds and bank currency we can reap out of the sweat and toil of the wage-slave a sum sufficient to have paid $750 per head for every one of the 3,000,000 chattel slaves freed by the shedding of the blood and $2,750,000,000 of treasury of the late war. Make your own calculation and it will do it. You see this devilish influence has a motive to continue a siege of thirty years in time of peace upon the constitution and liberties of the people. That sum would print a good many sweet-scented rose-tinted "memorials" to the "Rump Corporation and Millionaire Parliament" and subsidize a venal press for fifty years. The American people are asleep! Will they never arouse? No such question involving such supreme human interests, was ever before in the history of the world, presented to an earthly tribunal as that involved in the issues submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Famous Legal Tender Cause, Knox vs. Lee, et al, 12 Wallace Report. The Revolutionary Fathers in 1776, rebelled against direct "taxation without representation" by direct claim of absolute prerogative" to do it by George III. They rebelled because the principle asserted by George III and his ministry, denied to the colonies, the right of "representation;" and thus denied to them every attribute of national sovereignty as a people. And this right they claimed as Englishmen; nor did they refuse to be taxed to defray the expenses of the then late "French and Indian War;" but refused to be unless done impliedly at least with their consent by a body or parliament in which they were represented. But they did not rebel against the tax of the usurers that for a century had been levied on the Englishmen by means of interest on a perpetual debt and bank of England notes based on the debt. That species of tyranny and "prerogative" did not figure in the Revolution of 1776. No declaration of independence in terms was made or gained on that subject. The issue was made on the issue of direct "taxation without representation" and gained on that issue.

And against the fact of encroachment on the liberties of the people from this stand-point the fathers made ample provision in the

constitution. Against the fact of encroachment by the usurer and his indirect tax by assuming the functions of the sovereignty of the people of England, that of issuing and emitting the volume of the paper currency of the nation to the people by loaning it to them in bank of England notes, no provision was made in express or any terms.

For three centuries nearly, the English people have been chattel mortgaged to the aristocracy and Jewish usurers by a perpetual national debt, so great it is dmitted there is no hope, of paying anything but the interest; they, their children, and children's children are mortgaged after them in perpetuity. Our shoddy, apish, would be aristocracy, since 1863, have been eager listeners and learners at the knees of the thick blue-blooded, brutal class, who have owned and still own this chattel mortgage, on the masses of the English people. And they have concluded it would be a good thing for them to import the English monarchial system to and engraft it upon the World's Republic. And in this enterprise they have the hearty co-operation and sympathy of all the royal and aristocratic drones and thieves in Europe, who from generation to generation have eaten their bread in the sweat, blood and tears of the masses of the common people. Even the world's republic had never declared or gained its independence on this subject. Indeed it has had its constitution besieged and assaulted by the hessian army of usurers and their English aristocratic allies for twenty years; and in the infamous Resumption Act, we had Yorktown reversed; the stars and stripes were lowered and folded in defeat and shame; it was a direct denial of the existence of the sovereign right of the people, to own, issue, by their government and control the volume of their paper legal tender currency. It was the direct denial of the existence and right of the exercise of that function of the sovereignty of the people by the Congress in whom they vested that power in their constitution and surrender of it to 2500 national bank corporations, "little copies of their faithful sire;" faithful to tyranny, faithful to the political ancestors of Charles I and II, to be exercised by them, the corporations, at their own sweet wills.

And, in that cause, Knox vs. Lee et al, we have the assault of our class of usurers, the political descendents and spawn of the "tories" of '76,' the direct descendents *politically*, of Charles I, Louis XVI and George III, upon that greatest political fact of the Christian Era; yes, and the world, the attribute of the sovereignty of the Great American people. These political vermin of the middle ages, these barnacles of civilization, these owls of to-day asserted no such attribute of the sovereignty of the people abided with them; nor were they able to "vest" in "the Congress," by their constitution, "the power" to coin and emit and control the volume and use a legal tender paper currency.

Their logic was, the legal tender notes were not, could not be, legal tender money; nothing but gold coin could be; get the Supreme Court to so declare; then we, who now own and control the

gold, and half the paper currency of the country, in bank notes, and now have the peoples' notes for $300,000,000 of our bank notes,—when they come to pay us we will refuse, as we then may, the legal tender notes, and the people then will be compelled to ask that they be taken out of circulation and some other currency put in their place, we will accept. And then we are ready with our notes, and we will at last carry out the "Yorktown" reversed policy of the "Resumption Act."

There is no doubt of this being the policy. The reader will observe that at least once Mr. Sherman, the mouthpiece of this conspiracy, in his "Report" quoted herein, refers to the legal tender quality of the notes "being now contested in the courts," and this refers to this cause. And he and all of the Secretaries and Presidents reiterated time and again they were not constitutional legal tender in time of peace. Thus did this reactionary embodyment of the spirit of the middle ages rear its deformed head, in the highest tribunal of the World's Republic, and demand of it a decision to bastardize as illegitimate the fact of the sovereignty of the people of the Republic.

And all this to turn the people back into bondage at a rate of $74,500,000 per annum. Americans never half comprehended the momentous interests involved. Several other peoples since we did, have made, and made good, our declaration of independence against George III. and his minions, and others of his kith and kin. But no other has ever yet made, nor have we yet made good, the second declaration ot independence, against the usurers

We are in the midst of the struggle for the second declaration of independence yet. Our Supreme Court, thank God, worthy of its high office, laid down clearly the principles of the second Declaration. But the "allied army" is still entrenched in the U. S. Senate and the Executive department. We quote the statement of the importance of the issue involved, by Judge Strong, who wrote the opinion in the cause: "The controling questions in these cases are the following: Are the acts of Congress known as "The Legal Tender Acts" constitutional when applied to contracts made before their passage; and secondly, are they valid as applicable to debts contracted since their enactment? These questions have been elaborately argued, and they have received from the Court that consideration which their great importance demands. It would be difficult to overestimate the consequences which must follow our decision. They will affect the entire business of the country, and take hold of the *possible continued existence of the government.* If it be held by this Court that Congress has no constitutional power, under any circumstances, or in any emergency, to make treasury notes a legal tender for all debts, (a power confessedly possessed by every independent sovereignty other than the United States), the government is without those means of self-preservation which all must admit may, in certain contingencies, become indispensable, even if they

were not when the acts of Congress now called in question were enacted."

These greedy political jackals did not hesitate to compromise "the possible continued existence of the government" of the World's Republic to compass their unholy purposes. They did not hesitate to declare its attributes of sovereignty to be illegitimate, imbecile, and bastardized; that it was a political *nullius filius;* a nondescript, a nonentity, a HELPLESS SHAM of the power "confessedly possessed by every independent sovereignty other than the United States." Proceeding, the court say, "Indeed, legal tender treasury notes have become the universal measure of values. If, now, by our decision, it be established that these debts and obligations can be discharged only by gold coin; if contrary to the expectations of all parties to these contracts, legal tender notes are rendered unavailable, the government has been an instrument of the grossest injustice; all debtors are loaded with an obligation it was never contemplated they should assume; a large percentage is added to every debt and such must become the demand for gold to satisfy contracts, that ruinous sacrifices, general distress and bankruptcy may be expected." And that was the millenium of "resumption" clamored for by these political vandals, who claim and pretend to be so solicitous about an "honest dollar" and "honest money" for the laboring man

That is the result of their measures as asked to be sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States, and as it plainly sees their effect will be. After proceeding to answer other sophistries of the conspirators, at length, the Court reaches the question of "sovereignty" involved After stating that all the power of the states over the currency is taken away by the constitution, the opinion proceeds to say, "Whatever power there is over the currency is vested in Congress If the power to declare what is money is not in Congress it is annihilated. This may indeed not have been intended Some powers that usually belonged to sovereignties were extinguished; their extinguishment was not left to inference."

For instance, taxation without representation; transportation over the sea for trial, and in short, all the category of "abuses" complained of in the declaration But, as we have suggested, the fathers did not deal with the assumptions of the English usurers in direct terms And if all power over the currency is taken away from the States, even, and "vested in the Congress," we beg leave to ask by what authority, or by what mode of reasoning is the right, or power of Congress deduced, to "coin" or strike the bank currency, and at that point abandon and abdicate all further custody, or control over it; deliver it to an alien banking system, to emit and issue, or not, as suits its absolute and tyranical purposes and thus to "regulate the value of money," by regulating and controlling the "volume" of it? If such control and power was too great and sacred to be left to the states, how does it come it is not too great and sacred to be vested in the hands of 2700 venal tyrannical, rebellious bank corporations? The question just resolves it-

self into the one : "Who shall issue and control the volume of the national currency, paper and metallic?" If the question were left to the constitution, and the Supreme Court of the United States as expounder of it, it would be no question. It is as plainly answered by both as the questions who shall "borrow money on the credit of the United States;" who shall "levy taxes and duties on imports;" who shall declare war, make treaties and peace? But an answer that does not suit the despotic purposes of this spirit of absolutism, never was final to it, no matter what the authority ; it lives and thrives outside the pale of legitimate constitutional restraint; bring it under it, that moment it dies. The issue is made sharp and decisive. It or the constitution and civil liberty must die; they cannot live and thrive together; "ye cannot serve two masters;" ye will hate the one and cleave to the other. The people have to "choose this day whom they will serve." The constitution and liberty under constitutional and legal restraints; or the absolute unbounded control of this alien system of eternal peonage under a perpetual national debt and eternally borrowed bank currency. This system well knows it is your master. In a fit of anger, it did not hesitate to threaten to precipitate in 1880 as revenge for the passage of the three per cent refunding bill, one per cent interest lower than it demanded the rate should be, a panic upon the country like "Black Friday" and 1873. This cordon of crime and treason then said to the country, you will not obey our demands? We will show you. And under the law as then and now, they commenced to surrender their circulation to control the currency of the country to create a panic to drive the people and Congress into submission and obedience And they would have succeeded only that the Secretary of the treasury violated the law (perhaps pardonable in that in-tance) in coming with the United States Treasury to the relief of the business of the country. Who "shall coin money and regulate the value thereof" the Congress or the banks?

If there were no constitution that still outside of the United States Senate and Executive Departments has some claims and hold upon the people there yet would be the question of utility and policy left This question of what kind and how much legal tender money, paper and metalic, shall be in actual circulation among the people at any given time, stares the American people in the face with or without the constitution. It is a question that crawls right into your chimney corners, upon your hearth-stones into the larder, yes, right upon the family board. From 1868 to 1873 a contraction of $35.00 per capita, that is from $48 to $13 shrank the price and market value of every production twice as fast as all the labor of the country could produce. Out of four head of beef cattle, the farmer raised three for the bondholding, money loaning, money manipulating class and divided the fourth with himself and the corporations who owned and controlled the transportation. And all other business except that of loaning or speculating in obligations payable in money, a scarce and dear dollar in the same ratio. From

1869 to 1879 no legitimate business flourished in the United States, while the anglicised conspiracy were robbing the people of their money "to effect resumption." But the occupation of the usurer, the saloon and bawdy house keeper, were in an especially flourishing condition. The bankrupt courts and lunatic asylums were full; 3,000 bankruptcies in 1877 against 600 in 1865; suicides and insanity increased in the same ratio. But that was no matter, we were contracting the currency, distressing, robbing the people, driving them into bankruptcy, suicide and insanity, destroying homes and driving innocent girls into prostitution to effect a change of legal tender notes for national bank notes, called for euphony "resumption;" so that the thieving scoundrels who wrought this treason caused all this havoc, panic, moral and financial destruction, might reap $74,500,000 annually out of the sweat, blood, toil and tears of the American people; that was all.

Who shall issue and control the volume of the nation's currency, paper and metalic? Some one must, some one will; it is for the people to say who shall. Shall it be "the Congress," as declared by the constitution, or the banks as declared by the executive department and the Senate?

The Congress, a body of about four hundred men chosen by and responsible to the people who take an oath to support the constitution and laws of the country?

That is the body designated by the constitution to hold and exercise this power, too great and sacred to be confided or left even with the States.

The other body is 2700 national bank associations owned and controlled by not less than 13,500 stockholders who are "elected?" by themselves; who are "responsible?" to no one but themselves as to the "volume" of bank currency they will issue at any given time by loaning it to the people; a class of usurers, who, in all ages, climes and conditions, have always been without patriotism, human sympathy or any of the amenities of mankind; and who have proved in the last twenty years in this country that the class who own, control and manipulate this system are the unworthy sons of their sires of all ages. Brought to a sharp issue and statement of the matters of difference between them and the legal tender treasury notes, it is this: Legal tender paper currency coined and issued by the government paying it out to the people, is illegal and unconstitutional.

Legal tender bank notes (for some purposes) coined by the government and *given* to them to issue by loaning to the people is constitutional and legal. The question of the constitutionality of a paper currency with them, therefore, turns upon the point whether it is *given* to them by government to emit to the people by loaning it. The logic of the conspirators is as follows, and as certain in a civilized community as death and taxes: 1. Contracting the volume of the currency makes money scarce; 2, to make money scarce is to make money dear, enhance its buying power; 3, to make money

dear is to make wages and all kinds of property but obligations payable in money cheap in the same ratio. Their conspiracy has two great objects always directly in view. First, to reduce the volume of the circulating currency of the country, paper and metallic, to the lowest sum possible per capita. Second, to as nearly as possible own and have the absolute control of that minimum volume. It will be seen there is a two-fold motive to reduce the volume to the minimum and make gold the only "legal tender for debt," as claimed for in the legal tender decision. First, as therein pointed out, "a large per centage is added to every debt, and such must be the demand, for gold to satisfy contracts that ruinous sacrifices, general distress and general bankruptcy may be expected." The people owe the debts to which the great percentage is added; the gold and money gamblers, bondholders and bankers own the gold and the debts and the "general distress and bankruptcy" of the people, adds in same ratio to their wealth as it did fifty per cent in five years from 1872 to 1877. Second, the smaller the volume the number of dollars the more perfectly can they handle and control it. Scarce money means dear money, dear money means cheap property, cheap property means cheap human wages, flesh, brains and blood.

Suppose a man owned a $1,000 six per cent bond in 1865 when there were $48.00 per capita in circulation and wages $2.50 per day; the interest on the bond is $60.00 per annum and it would take 24 days' labor to pay the annual interest. But in 1874 with only $13.00 per capita in circulation wages were not more than $1.00 per day, if that; and it took 60 days' labor to pay the annual interest. And with the circulation at $13.00 per capita three per cent on the bond is a higher rate of interest and requires more days' labor to pay it than six per cent is when the per capita circulation is $48.00. For then as we have seen it only takes 24 day's labor to pay the annual interest; but with the $13.00 circulation and $1.00 per day it takes 30 days to pay the $30.00 annual interest at three per cent. And it is all the same when the interest or principal of the debt is paid in the products of labor. It would take 400 days' labor or its products to pay the principal of the bond in 1865; it would take 1000 days' labor or its products to pay the bond in 1874-5-6-7-8. Cannot a blind man see the motive of these conspirators to control the currency, to enhance the value of their currency, their notes, bonds and gold? Again suppose a man owes a note of $100 and has twenty cattle worth fifty dollars each, to pay it; they are worth the debt but they are not a legal tender for it. He must turn them into legal tender money and bring it to pay his note, if the holder demands it. He turns out to raise the money, but legal tender notes or money is scarce, hard to find; it is dear. Then suppose when he does find it, the man to whom he owes the note says to the one who has the money we have that fellow in close quarters; my note is due, I will demand the legal tender money, will have nothing else. You say to him, well money is very scarce, getting scarcer all the time. Property is at a drag, a discount; I don't want your

property. And they thus collude to oppress and do oppress the man. If he does not take the price offered by the man who owns and controls the money, the other will get judgment and sell his property at sheriff's sale. And he must offer at $40, $35—yes, down to $25 per head or as low as their devilish cupidity and his necessity leads them. That is the conspiracy played by the less than a million of gold bank bondholders, usurers and thieves on the other forty-nine millions in this country for the last twenty years, and yet the great American people are as gentle, docile and defenceless as the twenty oxen in our illustration; gaze at their masters' bank doors and listen to their "hard money," "honest money," "resumption" drivel with the stolidity of the ox at his master's crib. The point of distinction is that money is property, but all property is not money. And when one class own the volume of the legal tender money and the debts of the country and another class owe the debts and own the property, other than money, the second class are at the mercy of the first. By this alien management of our national finance, the debt contracted in the war to free 3,000,000 of black chattel slaves is to be made the means when perpetrated of reducing to serfdom 45,000,000 of black and white as wage slaves. These observations are not the vaporings of an overheated imagination; you may see for yourself that each one is based on a foundation of fact. It is earnestly desired Americans shall comprehend the fact, we have departed from an American, a Republican system of finance and have gone back to a Bourbon, Monarchial one, that if enforced, as is still sought and contended for by the executive department and the United States Senate, bastardizes or annihilates the fact of our National Sovereignty. Our system has been imported and the national banks copied off of the Bank of England based upon a perpetual national debt.

That banking system is as distinctively an English political institution as the peerage, house of lords, or royalty itself. I want the Americans who have any of the metal of the old Revolutionary fathers left in them to understand this. It is as English as the "stamp" act, or any other of the money-making "acts" of 1775 and before, passed for money-making purposes and to destroy the idea of American nationality and sovereignty. It is copied almost verbatim from the Bank of England. It is the avowed purpose of the National Bankers' Association to "perfect it after that model."

The Bank of England was organized as a "war necessity" in 1694. Its capital then consisted of a permanent loan to the Government of £1,200,000 sterling, to enable William and Mary to carry on war with France and make widows and orphans. On this loan the stockholders were to receive 8 per cent. per annum, and be permitted to issue notes based on bonds of the Government to represent the loan, and loan the notes so issued to the people. One debt, you see—the bank-note—based upon and redeemable in another—the bond. But, to make it sound better and "inspire

more confidence," the Jewish usurers and English aristocracy call it "honest money"—currency "based upon and redeemable in coin."

You can see at a glance that the stockholders in that bank have a double profit upon the money invested in the "permanent loan"—one in the interest on the bonds loaned to the people and one in the interest on the bank notes. That transaction, with the various improvements to it devised by the usurers and bond and bank mongers and the aristocracy of England, was and is the substructure and foundation of the Bank of England and the English system of finance of to-day. Of course the eye of the usurer saw the double interest. There he could get his "two pounds of flesh" according to law. But to insure that to last him and his children's children after him, that bond and national debt must be made perpetual. The masses of the people must be mortgaged to government in trust for him, to all eternity, under a national debt. And if the "managers" and stockholders could only have the "management of the public debt," they would soon "manage" to make it perpetual. Do you suppose any intelligent, Christian government would ever confide such a trust into the hands of such a set of civilized vandals? Of course it would when the government and the governing class are in sympathy with them. And in due time, by act of Parliament, the bank and its "managers" were entrusted with the "management of the public debt."

How would we expect the debt and bank to prosper under such "management?" They have done—well, just as we expected. The debt continued to grow until it was as large as they wanted it—that is, so large that there was no hope left of ever paying anything but interest on it. And the bank grew with its growth and strengthened with its strength. The rich have grown and still are growing, richer, and the poor—God's poor—are staying—if they can pay rent. The usurers and aristocrats, the snobs and royal hangers-on and drones in three hundred families and their relations, own half the land and wealth. John Bull has "confidence" in the bank, and the bank has "perfect confidence" in John Bull. Government has paid this bank in one year, for its arduous duties in managing to make the public debt perpetual, the sum of $465,000. And this is English "finance," "honest money" and "resumption" in bloom, of which our political apostates have prated to Americans for the last sixteen years.

This bank literally feeds and fattens on the wars, woes, blood and tears of the nation. As we have said, in 1694 its capital was £1,200,000. But, in the wars with Germany, Bavaria, and under Anne until 1708, it grew to £4,500,000, and by means of the wars of the Allies and George I, it was enabled to again double its capital; so that in 1722 it was £8,959,000 sterling. And from that time until 1746—a period of comparative peace—it was only enabled to increase its debt capital to £10,778,000; but from that time until 1816—period covering England's efforts to crush Napoleon I. and us

in our war for independence—it was enabled to swell its national debt capital to £14,553,000, or in United States denominations, about $72,765,000. Thus it is, figuratively, a "pyramid of skulls," a monument of the nation's woes. War, shedding the blood and leaving the bones of England's sons to enrich foreign fields, is a fruitful source of income to the bank. Wars create national debts, and national debts increase the bank capital. On that capital the managers and bondholders reap their untaxed double profits. "A rich man's war and a poor man's fight" may be hard on the common people, the rank and file, but no matter; it makes the ducats chink in the bank and usurer's vaults. No matter if each one is stained with the blood of a father, husband, son or brother, or the tears of a mother, wife, children or sister; no matter. The London *Times*, the New York *Herald* and *World*, and their allies all over this country, will sound the praises of "resumption," "honest money" and English finance.

Thus has this bank grown to be a "power behind the throne greater than the throne itself." The English people can as easily pay their perpetual national debt in a day and abolish the peerage, House of Lords, or royalty itself, as to abolish this bank. It is the foundation stone of the whole superstructure of oppression. Read the history of this hell-born monopyly, and you will see that the House of Lords, the aristocratic class, the landlords, the crown and the governing class have favored all its encroachments, and that the common, the middle and lower classes—the brain and heart of the nation—have opposed them. The nobility favored it; the ability of the country opposed it.

Now, let us trace the analogy between this system of national banks and the bank of England, and see if we can find any paternal marks of John Bull upon it:

1. The capital of both is the national debt and bonds.
2. That capital is untaxed and draws interest.
3. Both issue notes based on that capital to loan to the people.
4. Both propose to "redeem" one debt with another, and both call that "specie basis," "honest money" and "finance."
5. Both reap two incomes on the same capital at the same time.
6. Both depend upon the existence of a perpetual national debt to exist.
7. Each wants to perpetuate the debt of the country in which it is.
8. Both were instituted as "war necessity." Both depend on war and bloodshed to exist.

Nothing but war can create national debts. A succession of wars is the only way to prevent the payment of public debts in a civilized country. It is "the best banking system the world ever saw" for the three hundred aristocratic families of England and our poor, pitiful, purse-proud, shallow, shoddy, aristocratic apes and flunkies.

It makes no difference as to the 40,000,000 common people—the "dumb, driven cattle." John and the three hundred congratulate our shallow-pated aristocracy upon our banking system, and they in turn congratulate John and the three hundred that they "have established their finance on so firm a basis." They have organized a regular mutual admiration society.

Can any man not a misanthrope, a hater of his race—contemplate the facts and cruelty contained in the idea of a "perpetual national debt" without feelings of revolt? The masses of the English people, or of this country, chattel mortgaged—they and their children, and their children's children after them, to all eternity—to a few privileged persons who are thus enabled to "eat their bread in the sweat" of other men's faces from generation to generation. Such is English finance to-day. A bank currency based on bonds that represent a debt, English statesmen admit, is so great it can never be paid. Indeed, the landlords and the titled aristocracy argue that it never should be paid—that it is "a great national blessing."

The pilfering class of bank apostates in this country have hesitated as yet to announce the English doctrine in all its length and breadth. They have feared that the public mind of this country was not as yet sufficiently besotted, and the old "spirit of 1776" sufficiently perverted, to not enter a vigorous protest to it. Nevertheless they have worked to that end for the prevention of the payment and the perpetuation of our debt. All "hard, honest money" cant and their "resumption" fraud they learned at the feet and knees of the English taskmasters and landlord robbers of Labor.

For a series of years, prior to 1818 the Bank of England had issued a vast volume of paper money, beyond its ability to redeem on call in either "bonds or coin." But the people did not care—were in ignorance of it—and its notes passed among them for and as money, and the masses of the common people then enjoyed such a period of prosperity as they had never before or since seen. They were outstripping and breaking away from the leading strings of the aristocratic snobs, taskmasters and usurers who had held them in subjection. The lords and usurers saw it, and saw also that they must snatch and steal that money out of their hands to again reduce them to subjection. Accordingly, they passed a law in 1818 declaring that five years hence—in 1823—"the Bank of England should resume specie payments." A contraction of the currency was then commenced by the bank withdrawing and burning its notes which had been issued and put into circulation, and for twenty years after that process commenced the small land owners and property-holders of the country were decimated each five years; that is, in twenty years 40 per cent of the people lost their homes. This is a matter of history. The country was filled with a wail of sorrow from the bread-winners; the land was filled with "tramps" and "bread riots," and the militia was called out to shoot or ride down and dragoon women and children in the streets for crying for

bread. But the bank "resumed specie payments;" that is, a currency based upon and redeemable in a rag bond. The aristocracy and usurers reduced the poor—the breadwinners—to their "normal condition of dependence." They demonstrated that it was "cheaper to control Labor by controlling the volume of the currency than to own it." They made money scarce and dear, and wages and property—the products of labor—plenty and damnably cheap. Yes, they made the masses of the people—the bread-winners—human flesh, brains and blood—plenty and most damnably cheap, and it has been so ever since. Indeed, there was such an "overproduction" of men, women and children in Ireland that the poor, dear landlords were compelled to undertake the enterprise of "emptying Ireland of Irishmen." And this, is the "Scheme and Charter" they and their boon companions have transported and propose to transplant in the virgin soil of the World's Republic.

In 1869 and 1870 they said among themselves: John Bull and his aristocracy subdued and robbed Labor, multiplied the value of money and bonds and money obligations by two by "resumption" —that is, "contraction of the volume of the currency" from 1818 to 1823, and we will follow their example. He passed a law in 1818 declaring that he would "resume specie payments" five years after by stealing the people's money out of their hands. We must do the same! So they dictated one called a "Resumption Act." Our anglicized bank Tories passed one in 1875 declaring they would resume in four years—1879. As we have seen, they carried out only one-half the purpose and intent of the hell-born "scheme." But it would seem that the result was all his Satanic Majesty, or the landlords of Ireland, or the English bank and bond aristocracy could desire. It multiplied the value of money and bonds by two, and divided the value of wages and other property by the same factor.

In the campaign of 1880 the Republican party published the record of the county of Wm. H. English, President of a national bank and candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the Democratic ticket showing that in the years 1874-5 he bought at tax and foreclosure sales nearly 800 different pieces of landed property at an aggregate loss of about $200,000 to the poor men who had owned them, and below the assessed value, that being about one-half. If one man in one county did that in two years, what was done all over the United States when men like English were plying their vocation at every county seat and cross-roads from 1875 to 1879? It is an appalling thought. How many "lost cottage homes?" How many broken homes and hearts, sighs and tears, bankruptcies and suicides? How many tender wives and young daughters turned in the streets to have blackmail levied on their virtue? Then, for the first time in the history of this country, there came an army of a million tramps—1877—and while they were enforcing the "resumption" act, two million men were out of employment.

Under its kindly incubation it hatched out the Goulds, Van-

derbilts and 3,000 other millionaires at one end of the line and a million tramps, lost homes, bankruptcy, suicide, poverty and disaster at the other.

In 1840 it was estimated that there were only two millionaires in the United States; now there are 3,500. Nearly all have been hatched since our anglicized statesmen have imported and transplanted the English monarchial perpetual national debt system of finance.

In England where the fact of sovereignty of the nation resides in the "crown;" where they have a government of the crown and aristocracy by the crown and aristocracy for the crown and aristocracy; where the prerogatives of the crown are only "checked," by some constitutional barriers, erected by force, the crown might very well delegate the attribute of national sovereignty vested by our constitution in "the Congress," that is "to coin money and regulate the value thereof," to the Bank of England and with perfect propriety. Indeed it is just what we would expect; it is a "military necessity" to enable the crown and aristocracy to keep the people in subjection; and to sustain a system of church and state little beteer than the serfdom of the middle ages; and that only in the means used to accomplish the imposition of the royal and aristocratic burden. Then it was done by coarse brute force of the club and sword; now by the polite refined methods of the usurer and unjust law. But the power or authority to delegate to a corporation that one of the noblest and most sacred attributes of the sovereignty of a civilized government; the one the fathers thought too sacred to even leave or confide to the States, does not appertain to or reside in our form of government. The Sultan of Turkey and Khedive of Egypt farm out the collection of their national revenue to "tax-gatherers" by contract, and we call it barbarous. But we Americans sit idly by while a kindred function and attribute of the sovereignty of our government; one just as sacred to any civilized people, one named in the same section in the same form of words in the constitution; namely: "The Congress shall have power" "to coin money, regulate the value thereof," "to levy and collect taxes and duties on imports;" we sit idly by while the former of these noble functions and attributes of our sovereignty is farmed out and prostituted to the tyrannical purposes of an alien English banking system; it is permitted to own and control the volume of nearly one half of the paper currency of the country. It subverts the very fundamental idea and theory of our government; the very idea and theory that makes our republic different from and greater than the driveling so-called constitutional monarchy; the very principles for which our fathers shed their blood on the fields of the revolutionary war "that all just government is from the consent of the governed" and not from the consent of the crown.

The crown may have authority, has at any rate for near 300 years consented away this attribute of the government of the English people to the Bank of England; but in our constitution such

consent is negatived. An Englishman is a subject; we are citizens. The meaning of "subject" is cast or lying under; the Englishman is cast or lies under the crown; we lie under no one. Is it not humiliating to Americans that in so important a matter as our national finances we are apes and puppets? and that of a system diametrically opposed to both the letter and spirit of our constitution? We follow with abject docility in this matter in the track of a government, that has filled the earth with blood and tears; that wherever it has gone has established the improved feudal system of perpetual usury drawing debt, the new polite refined system of wage slavery?"

An examination of the statements of the public debt of England will show it has increased the bank debt capital but little in fifty years; that for the first eighty years after chartering the Bank of England, it managed to double the public debt about each twenty years until 1816. It was then as large as the bank and rusuers wanted it; that is so large there was no hope of paying anything but the interest. And we may rest assured our national banking system will never rest until one or the other of two things transpire in our financial system. Either, that they and our public debt are wiped out of existence; or our debt is put on a basis to make them and it perpetual.

It never has once yielded a point; that influence never was known to do it in any age or country; it is like a cancer in its nature; it will eat until it is cured by its annihilation or until the death of the body on which it preys. Since England and her system of finance presents the "model" for our banking system, I beg leave to present some propositions for the reflection of the thoughtful mind upon it.

1. If the rapid growth of the public debt of England prior to 1816, was an actual necessity growing out of the nature of things and connected with the destiny of the country what was the change in the conditions that took place and arrested its growth at that time?

2. If the contraction of that debt was a necessity then since the government is now burdened with the payment of interest on a debt so large it cannot be paid, whence is to come the assistance in the future that will take the place of that given by the contractions and expenditures of the debt in the past?

3. If the government could arrest the contraction of more debt at that period when burdened with interest on one already too large to be paid, why could it not, by the use of the same means have prevented the contraction of any debt in the first instance?

To these propositions no intelligent answer on the part of the advocates of the debt system can be made, only that its contraction was one of the unavoidable fates and misfortunes of war. If so, I submit again:

4. What, then, is England going to do in case war comes again,

as it has in the past, when it is admitted she has strained her credit all it will bear to sustain herself until now?

5. If this is true she is now on the last degree of financial tension to sustain the present establishment in time of peace; what will she do if war should come again? Is it true she is only an inflated bladder of fraud, force, impudence, debt and deceit?

7. The candid, thoughtful mind, is driven to one or the other of two conclusions: First, that the contraction of the perpetual public debt were not one of the unavoidable fates of war, and a necessity in the nature of things; or, Second, if its contraction was such a necessity, then a recurrence of the same set of stern facts that occasioned it will put a period to the present English government and its feudal system of perpetual debt finance.

The advocates of the perpetual debt, Bank of England, and national bank system of finance, may take either horn of the dilemma they choose; but one or the other they must. If they choose the first, and admit the contraction of the debt was not a necessity in the nature of things, in the first instance, then that fact stamps the whole system as a *false pretense* and a *fraud*, and as a direct political descendant of the feudal system and its claim of absolute "prerogative" as asserted by Charles I and II and Louis XVI and the Bourbons of Europe to-day. If they take the second horn of the dilemma, that its contraction was one of the unavoidable fates and fortunes of war and necessary in the nature of things, then it is admitted that the England of to-day is nothing but a bankrupt establishment an inflated gas bag of fraud, force, cheek and deceit, and only awaits the application of the bayonet in vigorous hands to tap it and we have a collapse with nothing left but a bad smell.

And we as a nation are following in the wake of a painted, powdered, padded old financial courtegan gone by his prime, on her last legs so deeply in debt she can neither get out or in any further; an exchequer of perpetual debt, an army of rank and file of foreigners, the staff line of incompetent imbeciles, the descendants of effete families who for three centuries never ate a crust of bread that was earned by the sweat of their own faces; and all held down by a fat old woman, fit figure-head of the aristocracy whose abuses and assumptions would be borne in no other European country or sovereignty except poor old effete Austria or Spain. Either position is a brilliant one to be occupied by Christian men and countries in this the last quarter of the nineteenth Christian century. This perpetual public debt system of finance is a continued menace to the peace of Christendom. Public debts so large as to be perpetual can only be contracted by war; and after contracted, payment can be prevented only by a succession of them. The inducement to them we have shown. That the Bank of England is the central fact of the financial system and commerce of England and her political influence gained thereby is well known and is boasted of by Englishmen. Mr. Gladstone, as Minister to England, said not long

since England had compelled all English speaking nations to adopt her system of finance. She has a patent on the perpetual debt system and compels other nations to pay a royalty on it. The Bank of England is omnipotent in her affairs; if its existence depended upon a foreign war to contract debt to be its basis, does any man doubt its ability or that it would scruple to use its influence to cause it?

Our alien imported system, owning less than one-half the volume of our paper currency, in ten years, after 1865, had besieged and taken, two of the three departments of our government and they were as obedient to do it dictates as the hessians and tories to the commands of George III. It passed, or procured to be, the two brazen, shameless measures, the "Act to Strengthen the Public Credit," and "The Act to Provide for the Resumption of Specie Payments;" it had also in 1873, procured the demonetizing of silver and a repeal of nearly all the wholesome restraints upon its usurpations. It now has the U. S. Senate and the Presidents and his Secretary of the Treasury and Controller of the currency at its command. And now in its sore straits to devise ways and means how not to pay our national debt; to do away with that troublesome "surplus," so as to pay none of it on interest drawing bonds; what a relief a war would be to that anglicised alien influence in the Republic. Indeed it would be the next thing to another "Resumption" act It would make way with that "surplus" in fine style. Then that influence and class of statesmen would be relieved from resort to such measures as the "River and Harbor" bills; Mr. Blair's "Educational Bill" and twenty-one more such expedients of the fertile brains of that greedy class who seek to establish the feudal system of finance in this country. Yes, a "rich man's war and poor man's fight," would take a great strain from the minds of that class and the present U. S. Senate. Does not any thinking person see, that all else equal, the great influence of that devilish system, will always "give in its voice for war." And when Mr. Garfield's successor assumed the functions of his high office, one of his first official acts was to withdraw demands made by Mr. Garfield's Secretary of State, upon one of the South American Republics that it recognized as a declaration of war. If that policy could have succeeded for only one year; if the senseless clamor "On to Peru," could have been raised; and a hundred thousand men called out, that troublesome "surplus" paid out and a thousand millions of dollars or so, even less, added to our present debt, do you not see what a relief it would have been to that influence? Do you not see its motive to stir up war? And for this reason christendom ought to stamp it out of existence.

The English and American money power to-day can pitch almost any nation it chooses upon the bayonets of any other. And it is sure footing for a monied aristocracy. It establishes them with all the ease and security over a people of the Barons and Lords of feudal system over the nations of the middle ages. It has been im-

ported in this country since our war. Other fields will be as inviting as our country was. As a system it sprouts and grows in the night of war, in its blood, tears and ashes; it feeds and fattens on war. It languishes and dies in time of peace; it must be watered with the blood and tears of the people periodically, to flourish.

It is anti-Christian and in league with hell. It flies on the black wings of the vultures of distrust and war, it famishes and sighs in peace for war to come to its relief, so it may glut itself. As a system it is making a test of the morality of our Christianity.

If it can establish the doctrine of the necessity of perpetual public debts, to be the basis of national currency, issued by tyrannical corporations and classes of usurers, farewell to Christian civilization. It will have met and surrendered to the same vulture that has devoured the vitals of all of the civilizations of the past. It is the cancer incurable, its only cure will be the death of the civilization in which it has fastened its poison fibers and tentacles, or its own death

What it lacks in merit it attempts to supply with sophistry, ridicule and overaweing the people.

It boasts it is the inventor of "honest money," "hard money" and "Resumption;" it in fact never invented anything; it is nothing but the feudalism of the middle ages, that lingers in commerce after it has been overthrown in the other departments of government. For twenty years it clamored in this country for what it calls "honest money;" "coin and currency based upon and redeemable in coin." Asserted the Republic could coin nothing but gold and silver into a legal tender money. And so far as practical results are concerned, it has not yielded one point although overthrown by the Legal Tender Decision in every one We invite the contemplation of the candid reader a minute to this "hard" "honest" money proposition as asserted by this system and contended for by the U. S. Senate, the executive department of our government and a subsidized ignorant and venal press. It asserts in plain language that legal tender money in this country can only be stamped upon a metal that in intrinsic value is worth one dollar without regard to the fiat of law it shall be a dollar to pay debt and the inscriptions and insignia it bears. And it has contended against and reviled the standard silver dollar, because it did not contain as many grains of silver by $40\frac{1}{4}$, as they claimed it should to make the silver dollar equal in intrinsic value with the gold dollar.

The late Secretary Manning in his Report to Congress, 'Finance Report 1885" from 16 to page 34 of it nearly half of it, wrestles to show the standard dollar, as now coined was in fact only worth about 86 cents

And he writes of "mono and bi-metalism" with all the profundity and alacrity of the "Governor" of the Bank of England and a direct political descendant of Charles I. But follow him through it all and he concludes the whole matter by saying it would not even remedy the matter to add the minus grains of silver to its weight; the

only remedy is to suspend entirely the coinage of silver. For thus demanded his bank masters. The truth is this class of men in fact do not care of what the legal tender money of the Republic is coined whether the dollar has a greater or a less number of grains in it, if they can only own and control the volume of it.

That is the point to their contention; that is the secret of their opposition to the legal tender treasury note and silver coinage. But think of the proposition that the republic can make nothing but gold and silver (in fact they contend for gold alone) a legal tender for debt, and that all currency must be based upon and redeemable in such coin."

What does the man say who asserts such a proposition? You offer him a legal tender treasury five dollar note; you say to him, that fragile piece of paper carries on its face the pledge of all the honor, property, patriotism, and the faith of the American people in their constitution, institutions, laws and flag, that it shall be good for five dollars in *value* in the world of commerce for any and every obligation. He says you cannot prove that your property or patriotism, your constitution, institutions or flag will be here in five years; or if you are all here, that you or any of you will have any "honor" or desire to fulfill your "promise." Go to with your "empty promise to pay."

I demand an "honest," "hard" dollar that is worth a dollar, whether you, your constitution or flag are here; or if you are, whether you have any "honor" left or not; I won't trust any or all of you; I have no confidence in any or all of you; your "empty promise to pay" is as filthy rags in my sight; go to, with your "rag baby." I demand a "hostage" of you for my five dollars. I demand a *hard* dollar laid right here in my palm; one that has now actually cost five pounds of human flesh, sweat, blood and tears in five days actual human toil. Fools may feed on faith, trust and confidence. I believe in to-day's *fact* alone, never in to-morrow's *promise*. I do not pinch or taste any actual human flesh or blood in your "empty promise to pay;" and he might go further and say it is too cheap to the people; it has not the taint of usury upon it. I and my class do not get ten per cent. per annum for it for every day it remains outside a bank counter, as we do on our national bank note. But if it had the taste of fresh human sweat, stained afresh with usury each day it might do *even if it is made of paper*.

This does not overstate the position of that class of men. And hypocrites behind the pulpits and on the platforms have used all the terms at their command to ridicule and destroy the impersonation of the peoples' faith in God and man, in their flag and constitution, and in the legal tender treasury note.

Talk of infidelity! The doctrine is the basest ever taught in the world, and for the basest purpose that ever actuated a Judas. Taught by a tyrannical class of one million to manacle the lives and liberty of forty-nine millions of freemen.

Such sentiments ought to drive man beyond the pales of civilization, if he will persist in an attempt to enforce them.

Faith, trust and confidence are the "chief corner stones," the "head of the corner," and the "key-stone" of the arch of the republic. Faith, trust and confidence were our only stock in store; it was the fortress of our strength, the depot of our supplies; it fed and clothed, armed and equipped our army and nerved the arms of Washington and his compeers in the war of our revolution to gain our independence against the "hard money," "honest money," perpetual public debt men, under the command of George III. Faith in God, trust and confidence in men, sustained Washington's soul in the dark and trying hours of "Valley Forge."

When the patriots of the North and South were unable to communicate once in three months, mutual faith and confidence in each other nerved the arms and hearts of each to believe and feel and know the patriots of each section are dealing the tyrant sturdy, telling blows. God rules and we will fight it out on this line if it takes seven years. And they did—and the God of hosts and of battles crowned their mutual faith, confidence and trust, with the greatest political fact of the Christian Era—"Yorktown." All the "hard money," "honest money," perpetual public debt and resumption gentlemen, including the late Benedict Arnold, were with Mr. Cornwallis and on his side of the intrenchments that day.

Their mission with the bayonet and cannon to convert the republic to "honest," "hard," money, at least to a perpetual public debt, entirely failed. It always would pay, in time of peace, the unavoidable debts of war. But in 1861 the republic was rent asunder with the slave-holder's rebellion. The "hard money" men of Europe rubbed their hands in great glee and said, "The great bubble of American liberty has burst at last."—Earl Russell as correspondent to the London *Times*.

They made haste to "recognize" the "confederacy;" they could not "take C. S. A. bonds" fast enough, in pay for "privateers," to prey on our commerce, and for ammunition and arms.

Her "royal highness?" Empress of India, Queen of England, Godmother of Ireland and Stepmother of Canada and Queen of Dahominy, and that relic of the fifteenth century, Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, by the grace of——the bayonet and Napoleon III. met in sweet council and said this is a very good time to veto the "Monroe Doctrine."

True the United States have a treaty with Mexico "offensive and defensive," but the U. S. are now divided and fighting among themselves, and cannot more than help themselves, if that. Send a French army to Mexico, subdue her, and put the reminiscence of the fifteenth century and bourbonism, Maximillian, on the throne of Mexico.

Well—then, we will be ready to watch the fight from a point near enough the "great bubble" to help burst it, if it does not

prove able to burst itself. In the meantime, "hard money" men and tories were all engaged in the money loaning and usury business in this country and also delighted at the prospect. Our financial crisis came on in 1862; the dark cloud of war and debt seemed to shut out the last ray of hope. A bankrupt treasury, credit gone, honest money banks all suspended; an unclothed, unfed, unpaid, discouraged army in the field; their families in actual want at home; it was indeed the second "Valley Eorge" of the republic. The following statement of our situation at that time is made by Justice Strong in the Legal Tender Decision. The requisitions from the war and navy department for supplies exceeded fifty millions, and the current expenditure was over one million per day. The entire amount of coin in the country, including that in private hands, as well as that in banking institutions, was insufficient to supply the need of the government three months, had it all been poured into the treasury. Foreign credit we had none. (No, indeed, financial and political Bourbonism saw to that). We say nothing of the overhanging paralysis of trade and of business generally, which threatened loss of confidence in the ability of government to maintain its continued existence and therewith the complete destruction of the remaining national credit." Patriots saw it and trembled; the slaveholder's rebellion saw it, took new courage, and the "hard money," "honest money" tories and Bourbons of all Europe rubbed their hands in glee at the prospect. Napoleon and his minions beat poor Mexico to the earth in the sight of her trembling sister and ravished her of her political rights. Bourbonism of the fifteenth century, reared its deformed head and the "Empress of India" and her delectable ministry bade it God speed in its mission in the New World; if the republic can and will beat itself to pieces, or with our help, then will the world go back three centuries; and we will not only have the absolutism of feudalism and Bourbonism in finance, but actually perhaps *reverse Yorktown*; who knows? Yea, and who did know? Thus reasoned these crones of the past. Who can see or decipher now, what might have been the consequences if the C. S. A. had acquired their independence? Bourbon Europe united with Mexico for a military and political camp-ground; we bitterly disunited, the C. S. A. more and more haughty and embittered, ready perhaps for unholy alliances; yea, who can forsee? But for one great fact, the union armies would not have been maintained in the field, until the end of 1863. It was a very "Valley Forge." Bourbonism in this country and Europe saw it.

Secretary Chase came forward with the measure that saved the world's republic. He said, the Revolutionary Fathers, when they had little else, coined their faith, trust, confidence, their mutual pledges of "sacred honor" and patriotism, into the "continental currency" and lived and fought for, and by the Grace of God and the help of the French drove the "hard money" men out of this country in 1776 and 1782. Come now, let us coin the mutual confidence, faith, trust, honor and patriotism of the Great American

Republic into legal tender treasury notes and pay our army and fight our battles and save the Republic on it as money. To every patriot, it was like the sun, come from behind a dark eclipse; to the slaveholder's rebellion it was the crack of doom. To Bourbonism in Europe and this country it was like "Austerlitz" or "Sodowa" to its plans. And the wage slaveholder of Europe and the chattel slaveholder of America made common cause. With the hard money men of both Europe and America the cry was, "To your tents, Oh, Israel." The republic is about to coin her own mutual faith, confidence, trust, patriotism, her own resources into money to save herself, her integrity, and if we do not lay to a helping hand the great bubble of American liberty will not burst at last."

And the financial Bourbonism of Europe and this continent marched right into the household of the Republic at its most unguarded and accessible point, the U. S. Senate. Here it entrenched itself to defeat if possible the legal tender acts entirely; that done at that time was overthrow, at least division of the Republic. If the acts could not be defeated entirely the next point was to defeat the legal tender clause and quality of them; that put the republic on its knees at the doors of the gold gamblers of Europe and America.— If the entire legal tender quality could not be defeated, then get as many "exceptions" as possible in it. The Grand Old Commoner, Thadeus Stephens could carry the legal tender act without one blot or stain of the blood and tears of the common people in the Bourbon dictated "exceptions" upon it through the House. Time and again he sent the bill to the "last ditch" of financial Bourbonism, the U. S. Senate with their cruel "exceptions" struck out. Time and again it returned the bill to him and the House, with the two blood and tear-stained "exceptions" "except for duties on imports and interest on the public debt." And as much as to say, we, the agents and attorneys of the gold gamblers of Europe and America; we, the tools of financial Bourbonism, will sit here in dead-lock with you until your armies are unfed, unclothed and beaten in the field and come home unpaid to their families in want, with the flag trailing in the dust, the republic divided, a Bourbon on the throne of Mexico, threatening and insulting it.

And there they stood, and in shame and sorrow, the patriots were compelled to yield to their bloody and greedy demands. For those two exceptions doubled the cost of the war in premium on gold and thus doubled the public debt. It pensioned the tories.

Thus, in two instances, has the existence of the Republic depended upon its right and power to coin its own faith, credit, confidence and trust, into money. But this class of financiers call it filthy rags and "rag baby." But their "rag" bank note currency based upon and redeemable in a "rag" bond, made and issued by the government is good, honest, hard money. But silver certificates based on standard dollars is not "currency based upon and redeemable in coin?" Why? You ask, and it takes twenty-five pages of argument by a bank attorney as Secretary of the U. S. Treasury to

tell you. The only reason they ever were able to assign, was, it has not silver grains enough by forty.

And then to add them to it, will not make the matter any better, for it drives "gold" out of the country.

Gold is the banker's scarce and dear money; legal tender notes and silver certificates are the people's common money, on which they pay no usury to the usurers. That is the real objection, but it would not do to state it plainly.

If these men really do contend for "coin and currency based upon and redeemable in coin," why do they fight to the death the coinage of the standard dollar, at the rate of $2,000,000 per month, and the legal tender notes?

The truth is, it is all a false pretense; it is all to cover the real purpose, to clear the field of both species of the people's money for the occupation of bank notes.

Think one moment of the tax upon our country, of either species of curreny, as a fixed fact for the future, the "coin" or the bank note currency, or both. We now have a population of over 50,000,000 and increasing rapidly. This system has, since 1870, strangled us down to less than $15.00 per capita and almost panic prices. Even England and France (especially the latter) both old and improved countries where wages are low, that do not need more than half we do, maintain a money volume of $20 per capita for their people.

In view of our rapidly increasing population, we must have at least $20 per capita soon for our present population; that is a volume of $1,000,000,000 of currency. If it is to be bank currency, we must perpetuate, at least that amount of principal U. S. bonds, at three per cent. per annum, untaxed, as good as two per cent. more and making five per cent. in all, an annual charge of $50,000,000; the bank notes, at seven per cent simple interest, will cost $70,000,000 more, or a total per annum charge of $120,000,000 paid for the right to live. This sum would support a standing army of 400,000 men at a cost of $300 per annum per man. Or, suppose in fact we do have "a currency based upon and redeemable in coin;" have a metal dollar to actually circulate, or to be basis and lie in the treasury, to "redeem" the certificate based on it.

If we use the coin, the statistics of the mintage of this and other countries show, that coin in actual circulation is clipped, worn out and lost, as such, in thirty years. And it thus disappears each such period—or suppose we use the paper certificates instead. Then we are at the annual expense of hoarding and keeping the "hostage," and risk, for humanity is fallible and locks and keys and bonds and penalties will fail to debar and deter.

National banks though watched, break, state and national officers default. And at best, we would all be doing business on faith and credit and trust, at least, that there was a coin dollar in the treasury to "redeem" our certificates.

And now General Weaver, of Iowa, has discovered and ex-

posed to the country the humiliating fact that the above $60,000,000 of surplus funds that has been accumulating in the U. S. Treasury for years was not in the vaults of the U. S. Treasury as the people supposed, but was actually purloined by bribed Secretaries of the Treasury and divided out by them for years and now, among about 298 national banks.

And then suppose rebellion or foreign invasion, should come again as both have come; in one instance the capital was taken (1814) and burned; in the other it came near it (Bull Run) and perhaps would have been, if there had been $1,000,000,000 "coin" stowed there to be the prize. And then where would we be? Bankrupt sure enough, in war no money, no basis, all gone. It would be Amlek with no Dagon, Israel with no Ark, the Chinaman with no cue, the idol of our faith, confidence, trust broken. Shame on the spirit of incarnate, hell-born greed, and distrust, that puts its faith and confidence in such things. It always enslaves and dishonors those, who do it. It is this devilish spirit of distrust and infidelity to-day, that makes Europe a camp-ground; her coasts and borders to bristle with forts, war navies, arsenals, canon and bayonets; one Christian? sovereign and government enslaving its people to keep one-half its able bodied men in the standing army, while the other half are enslaved to support the nation, on a war footing, to protect it against another Christian? Sovereign? and Government? Distrust, want of faith factionizes and atomizes society. Faith, confidence, trust, are the gravitation of the moral and intellectual world, the only force that can hold civil society together.

The greatest man or woman is the one of the greatest faith and a nation is only an aggregation of individuals and its capacity in the polarized capacities of them all.

Faith is to the world of mind, what fact is to the world of matter; to a truly great mind, its faith is fact; Washington's faith was fact to him, and he made it fact to the world. Ideas are the greatest political factors, in the world; they set armies in motion and shake the nations with their tread. A man or a nation is never struck so hard as when struck with a truly, full grown, great idea.

The idea of physical separation and political independence which our fathers conceived after seven years of travail brought forth Yorktown. The idea of civil and religious liberty, gathered from the writings of the Encyclopædiests of France, set her effete institutions in a whirl, in the Revolution. If Christianity is anything it is a system of faith; if it is great in anything it is in its faith in God and man. Its founder, surrounded by Roman legions, confronted with a Roman governor who had power to release or to crucify, said "now is my kingdom not from hence;" not of this world, of its armies or gold or influence; he said he could command "legions of angels" to fight. But that would have been a moral degradation an overturning of his moral government of faith and charity. If Christian civilization is anything different from or greater than the effete systems, that for a time flourished under paganism and then

went out in blood, tears and ashes, it is in its faith, trust and confidence in man and God, in a degree like that of its Immortal Founder. And yet with shame and in sorrow, we are compelled to admit a great many of the so-called ministers of his gospel to-day, teach and preach the gospel of temporal infidelity, distrust and want of faith; the Dagon, Jaugurnaut, the Molech Amlek hostage perpetual public debt, the hard honest money, the distrust, the infidel system of finance. Do it, too, with bitterness and ridicule of the people's faith; do it for a share of "blood money," the tithe, the usurer deigns to give them, the prophets of Baal, for their ministering in his groves and high places." At contemplation of it we bow our heads in shame and sorrow. But the Nazarene is still able to go with "a whip of chords" and drive the thieves and money changers out of his father's house.

Again we find the only thing that checks the greedy and corrupt crowd of religious and political parasites, now as then, is "because they feared the people." Now they say, not on election day lest there be an uproar of the people; then "not on a feast day lest there be an uproar of the people." The more we contemplate this system the more it appears a relic of feudal despotism, the twin sister of chattel slavery and repugnant to all Christian and enlightened policy. Debt is in fiscal conditions what vacuum is in nature; nature abhors and will not brook a vacuum; she will not brook obesity or exhaustion. She is all the time working to the end of leveling inequalities, filling vacuums and paying debts. The very wind that "bloweth where it listeth" is on an errand to fill a rarified condition; the ocean currents, the rivers are on the same mission. The lightning and thunder that rives the oak and shake the hills are her protests against debt, as she balances the ledger, between the overcharged positive or creditor cloud and undercharged negative or debtor one. She will loan to man and animal the elements that make his body; but she will not brook the idea of an eternal loan or debt; she demands and enforces settlement and payment in death; "dust thou art and to dust shall thou return." But she never demands interest or usury. Usury is only a device of human cupidity, to perpetuate debt; secure it to be paid over and over again and yet never discharged. It is like slave blood in the mother's veins in chattel slavery; she imparts it to her offspring to all eternity. But for the usury the debt would not be desirable to the creditor or tyranny to the debtor.

We have paid our present public debt since 1865 twice, in usury, and yet at the end of twenty-five years paying we owe nearly half of it and must pay that twice yet. Our history as a nation shows we have had a war that incurs the contraction of public debt once in each twenty-five years. (1). The War of the Revolution. (2). The War of 1812. (3). The Mexican War in 1846. (4). The late Civil War, 1861. Our national policy always has been until 1861-5 and since, to pay in time of peace the unavoidable debts of war. Such was the doctrine of the fathers. The following is the language

of Washington on this subject in his immortal Farewell Address to the American people.

"As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit.

One method of preserving it, is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only shining occasions of debt but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable war may have occasioned; not ungenerously throwing on posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear."

How do those sentiments comport with Mr. Arthur's assertion, quoted ante page 108 "that the rapid extinguishment of the public debt that is now going on, is not only not a matter of congratulation but of serious apprehension." The one is the Republican doctrine of Washington and the Revolutionary Fathers, who gained our independence and framed the Constitution; the latter is the utterance of a subsidized official, made to announce the English monarchial doctrine of George III and his hessian allies.

For twenty years the English monarchical doctrine has obtained and for twenty-five years we have paid usury and have paid the debt two or two and a half times, and still owe half or nearly so of it; and this apostate bank influence is fighting to the death for the perpetuation of the balance of it. Although all its treasonable assertions are negatived by the Great Legal Tender Decision, it shows no sign of raising the twenty-five years seige. The original law only granted as a temporary measure, charters to the banks for twenty years. But as their terms drew to a close the Presidents in messages and Secretaries and Controllers in reports to Congress commenced to recommend the law be so amended they might renew for another twenty years. And now there are nearly 2800 of them in existence and more than ever before.

If the public debt is to be promptly paid according to the American doctrine why are these English political institutions that can only remain so long as they hold U. S. bonds to secure their bank notes, fostered, fattened and toadied to by our administrations? Let any man with the brains of a lobster answer? It is plain as day—the struggle is upon us; the tories are entrenched in the U. S. Senate and the executive department, and are fighting a running fight like Lexington and Concord for the House. Shall they have it?

In all the "Refunding Acts" the point fought for by this influence always has been to put the payment of the U. S. bonds beyond the power of this generation to pay. And now suppose war comes again in the future as it has in the past and $1,000,000,000 of the last debt on which we have been paying for twenty-five or forty years is still shading us: I ask thinking men and women in what situation will we then be? If it is, and is to be perpetual, what of the ad-

ditional that must be incurred to meet the exigencies of the time? And at that rate and with that as the policy, what of the future? A person of but little foresight "a wayfaring man though a fool," can see that soon the Bond Bank feudal system will have us just where it now has the English people; that is, where we will ask the system, not what we will do with it but what it will do with us.

No systems of domestic law of any civilized people permits the debt of the ancestor to descend upon the heir. If the ancestor leaves encumbered property to his heir, the heir to possess the property, it is true, must discharge the encumbrance. But, if the property does not pay half the ancestor's debts or any of them, the heir goes free But this system encumbers all of the property of the nation with a perpetual mortgage and the debt descends from ancestor to heir from generation to generation. According to it the present generation of Americans, too pusilanimous to sustain, perpetuate and hand down the Republic unimpaired to its successor, must mortgage the lives, labor and capacity of children unborn to this hell-born, thieving alien monarchial system. That is handing down "the republic and constitution to our children unimpaired" with a vengeance is it not? Shame on a generation of slaves, who will put their necks under the yoke of eternal debt and George III and his minions and successors with the docility, stupidity and stolidity of an ox! Shall we do it? Shall we, in the language of Washington, "throw on posterity the burden we ought to bear?"

It is one thing to point out infirmities and abuses in existing systems; it is another to suggest a cure or a better one.

There is but one cure for the system as we have been discussing, it or civil liberty must die In fact we have now no system; we have a kind of half of two, a republican and a monarchial. Our legal tender notes so far have fought for and maintained only a precarious existence.

The bank system is fighting to put them and the silver coin and certificates out of existence.

The situation demands action, the offices of statesmanship. For twenty years we have vascillated between two systems and our interests in this great matter have floated about upon the varying fortunes of the contest waged by the banks.

We are at the mercy of an experimental half and half system. "A house divided against itself cannot stand;" "the country will yet be all slave or all free," said Lincoln of the "Missouri Compromise Line" and other superficial, temporary half and half measures of the time. We are to-day in a better situation to demand a settlement of the matter, than we will ever be again. The question is, shall we have a "republican" or a "monarchial" system of finance? Shall we be "borrowers" and "servants" to all eternity? or shall we as Washington recommended, "pay in time of peace, the unavoidable debts" of war?

If we are to be freemen, citizens, instead of "subjects" the first thing to be done is throttle the system, that for twenty-five years

has besieged the liberties and constitution of the Republic. This can be done in any one of three ways. 1. Repeal the law granting their charter. 2. Pay the national debt. 3. Issue a sufficient volume of Legal tender notes and silver certificates and coined silver to take the place of their notes and discard them. That is refuse to be "borrowers" and "servants."

There would be no experiment in this. For twenty-five years with no basis but the faith, trust and confidence of the people based on their credit over $300,000,000 of the legal tender notes have been and still are circulating as money. And since 1879 at par; and $300,000,000 more of them would circulate just the same. Or if that is thought too great an innovation, take the bank agents and attorneys out of the Presidential chair and out of the office of the Secretary of the Treasury; instead of the coinage of the minimum of two coin the maximum of four millions of silver per month under existing law; and see to it that no certificates are issued of a higher denomination than ten dollars; that half of them are five dollars and under. And if no bonds are due buy bonds on the market to a volume $200,000,000 of principal with the "surplus." And then wait one year and see if the sun stood still; see if the hog and chicken cholera swept the land like a conflagration; see if anybody is shocked, who it is. In our humble opinion nobody would be, but the hessian camp of gold, bond and bank conspirators. They would be nearly as badly as they were at Bunker Hill. Yes and the Republic would be with a new victory and new life for the future, like that it received at Yorktown.

Wait one year and see if John Sherman the father of "Resumption" would die or go to his political father, John Bull. And then, if none of these dire results happened, we think at that time country might even venture to follow the advice of Jefferson and "take the power to issue the currency from the bank corporations and restore it to government to whom it belongs."

And we would not then have to exceed $18.00 per capita for our population. And then if the English banks thought the country was in danger from "inflation of the currency" let them withdraw their bank issues, those of them who had charters and bonds to continue upon. In any event, treat them as the Revolutionary Fathers did the tories at the close of the revolution; let them remain in the country if they will obey the constitution and laws. But we think they ought to be sworn about once a year for the next ten, to that effect. Well at the end of one year let the Republic feel of itself, feel the pulse of the "public credit," if it beats firmly and the legal tender notes are still at par and we feel we need, say two dollars, per capita circulation more to be on a par half way with France and England in that respect, enact an amendment of the legal tender act, declaring that all legal tender notes in existence, shall be, as they will in fact have been, then, for ten years a legal tender for all debts public and private. And that the Secretary of the Treasury shall issue in addition to the volume already in existence

and pay them into circulation a volume of $100,000,000—or two dollars per capita. And then be ready with the restoratives to revive the bank tories and aristocracy for it and Bourbon Europe will beshocked again, just as it was when Charles I and Louis XVI each lost his block-head; yes, just as it was at Yorktown. But then the poor old miserable mummy of the fifteenth century needs shocking to get it out of the effete condition in which it has been for three centuries, or to bury it might be a better remedy.

It had better be shocked that way than the way it will soon be, by home forces.

And why not do it? It would not be half the power, nor half so violently used by Congress as the power these banks now hold and have used to suit their greedy purposes for the last twenty years. They now own over four dollars per capita of the bank paper currency of the country and undoubtedly control quite as much more. They "issue" money and "inflate the currency" by loaning it to the people; they contract the currency by taking in old and refusing to make new loans. There is no law to compel them to loan money.

The Congress issues money through the U. S. Treasury by paying it into circulation. The legal tender notes, the coin and coin certificates, that go out through the U. S. Treasury, go out free to a free people; they do not go out "borrowed" to "borrowers" and "servants." They pay a debt to a citizen when they are born into the world of commerce; they go out free born and go on the errand of debt paying, healing the financial disease of the people free and are like the "leaves of the tree of life" that "are for the healing of the nations." The bank currency makes a debt when it is born into the world of commerce from behind the bank counter; it is slave born; it goes out like a dog with his master's name on the collar; it goes out on a "a ticket of leave," a gilt edge note, at ten per cent in advance, perhaps for sixty days. At the snap of its master's fingers, like a dog, it comes crouching back and crawls under his counter. And the American people crawl like spaniels under and around the outside of his counter and have done it for twenty years.

These blood-sucking tyrants, these bank and railroad corporations, show a wonderful interest in your affairs. For twenty years they have argued and a venal subsidized press to-day, argues it would never do to entrust so important a subject as the "control of the volume of the currency" to Congress. But the same gang of tories will argue for confidlng it to and leaving it in the hands of the banks. This proposition to issues $2.00 per capita of legal tender notes, will be assailed by them on that ground. I ask thinking Americans to stop a moment. What does the constitution say?—We have seen. What does the Supreme Court say? We will repeat. "The States can no longer declare, what shall be money, or regulate its value. Whatever power there is over the currency is vested in the Congress.

If this is not a "power," the "control of the volume," why do these banks fight to retain it? If it is a power it belongs to Congress. "Whosoever controls the volume of the currency is absolute master of the commerce and industries of the country."—Garfield. When the currency of the country is contracted down and down from 15 to 14 to 13 dollars per capita to only a breath or two above a panic, as we now are, a man of sense sees at a glance that the last two or three dollars per capita in actual circulation are the dollars that tell on financial and commercial life and death; that decide whether we have panic or not. And these last three, yes, eight dollars, this system owns and controls and does not hesitate to threaten us with and use. But for Congress to issue and pay into circulation a volume of two dollars per capita, is to them the height of folly. It is a breach of "prerogative," equal to the "States General," giving Louis XVI and the two thieving orders five hours in which to take their seats in the hall, to consider and vote on the issues that involved the existence of France.

As we have shown, these tyrannical corporations now, by the class legislation that stain our statutes are enabled to and actually do by controlling the commerce, the means by which it is effected, that is the transportation and the money, levy on the American people, a direct tax equivalent to ten dollars per capita per annum. But that in their estimation is small matter, so long as it goes to them. But now for Congress to issue $2.00 per capita to circulate as money would be in their eyes most unwarrantable. Or, if that were thought too great a change, issue one dollar per capita per year and keep the eye on the pulse of the public credit. We think the Congress and the government through the treasury department as good judges of the matter of the "volume of the currency," that should at any time be in circulation in the marts of commerce, and may as well be trusted to control that matter as the alien banking system.

We do not recommend any such confiscation of private rights as was made by the Congress under the lead and dictation of the banks from 1865 to 1873 to effect resumption as they called it; and it is still defended by that system. It then, in the short period of seven years, reduced the currency from a volume of $48 to $13 per capita; that is $35 per capita or five dollars per year, for seven successive ones. It was simple, legal, confiscation, to enrich a class. Even in 1868, when it was just fairly inaugurated and before he was converted (?) to this system, Mr. Sherman said of the "contraction policy," on the floor of the U. S. Senate in a speech on the subject: "To attempt this last (resumption of specie payments by contraction), by a surprise on our people, by arresting them in the midst of their lawful business and applying a new standard to the value of their property, without any reduction of their debts or giving them an opportunity to compound with their creditors, would be an act of folly without an example of evil in modern times." Yet this man, the very next year advocated all these measures and helped to push

them to the extreme of "panic," "bankruptcy and disaster" in 1873 and until arrested by the act, May 31, 1878.

Their acts of confiscation were deliberate. Their opposition to any measure to reverse thir policy now comes from the same greedy motives. Cannot the American people seize and comprehend the situation? Can they not see that "contraction" to a low volume in so far is confiscation to them? And that is the motive of the feudal system to reduce the volume to the minimum. And each measure we have recommended, is conservative.

It would be no innovation. It would be the course of events turned from a feudal system of finance to a modern republican one. And no measure so taken would be one but that has the sanction of the highest American authority.

Washington and all the Fathers for the payment of the debt, Jefferson for retiring the bank currency, let them continue a legitimate bank business. We are here and now only assailing their issues of notes. And by a careful following of this policy we would pass out of the half and half policy into a republican system with no shock to the commerce and industries of the country. If our volume reached $30 per capita and all was well composed of legal tender notes, coin and certificates based on and redeemable in coin, who could complain? In our opinion much more summary measures than these ought to be taken with the subject.

Repeal the bank charters at once. Supply their notes with legal tender treasury notes, if necessary, to keep the volume of the currency at least to what it now is, about $14.00 per capita.

We are only a few stages above a panic now. A sufficient ground for the repeal of the entire system is that it is in violation of the plain letter and spirit of the constitution; it never was intended to and cannot be a permanent institution without violating all the historic traditions and usages of the fathers of the republic in perpetuating our public debt. Now the conspirators shout with exultation, all the balance of the public debt is refunded beyond the power of this generation to pay. Strike down the alien feudal system and the main motive to perpetuating it will be removed.

The premium on the bonds will decline. Very true it is "English you know;" so was the "stamp act." "You know" these patrons of the republic in the Revolution, in the language of that Grand Old Englishman, Lord Chatham, in his speech on the floor of the "House of Lords," on the "American War," said to his brethren, who were arguing the measure of setting the Indians, the "hounds of War" on our fathers to civilize them. "My lords I did not intend to encroach so much upon your time, but I cannot repress my indignation; I feel myself impelled to speak. My lords we are called upon as members of this House, as men, as Christians, to protest against such horrible barbarity. * * For "it is perfectly allowable" says Lord Suffolk "to use all the means which God and nature have put in our hands" What ideas of God and nature that noble lord may entertain I know not; I know that such

detestable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! to attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping knife! to the cannibal savage, torturing, murdering, devouring, drinking the blood of his mangled victims! Such notions shock every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honor.

These abominable principles and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench to vindicate the religion of their God, to support the justice of their country. I call on the bishops to interpose their unsullied sanctity upon the judges to interpose the purity of their ermine to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honor of your lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the Constitution. From the tapestry that adorn these walls, the immortal ancestor of this lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain did he defend the liberty and establish the religion of Britain, against the tyranny of Rome if these worse than Popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are endured among us. To send forth the merciles cannibal, thirsting for blood! Against whom? Your protestant brethren, to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings and to extirpate their race and name by the instrumentalities of these horrible hounds of war. Spain can no longer boast of pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; we, more ruthless, loose the dogs of war against our countrymen in America endeared to us by every tie that can sanctify humanity. I solemnly call upon your lordships and upon every order of men in the State to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indellible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly I call upon the holy prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity; let them perform the lustration to purify the country from this deep and deadly sin. My lords I am old and weak and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor even reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles." It was almost his dying effort. But all in vain. The measure, to hire the Indian savages, to furnish them arms and spirits to inspire to a higher pitch their naturally brutal passions was carried by "my lords" spiritual and temporal." And in due time followed the "well-known mode of warfare" of the savage murdering our fathers, outraging their wives, mothers, sisters, sweet-hearts. Lord Chatham might as well have appealed to the "bench," "bishops" and "lords" of the domain of his satanic majesty for "mercy," "religion" or "humanity."

It was "English you know," when they came back in 1814 and burned our national capital in violation of all the usages of civilized

war. It was "English you know," when Earl Russell as correspondent of the London *Times* in the first years of our late civil war gleefully wrote to it and it gleefully published to the world, "the great bubble of American liberty has burst at last."

This inhuman sentiment he wrote from the midst of our fratricidal desolation, and while treated with the utmost kindness and consideration, by both sides. As much, as to say, the day-break of the present and future, of liberty and civilization recedes and the night of the past draws on again. Come up ye political owls of the fifteenth century and croak, blink, nod and hoot to each other of "prerogative" of "royal families" of "provinces" traded off or "dismembered" to appease the spite of a "mistress," or the gout or necessities of his "majesty?" Lift up your heads "lords" and "ladies," (Campell for instance); come on the "Notables" the "Nobility" and the "clergy" of France and "St. Bartholomew" to the contrary notwithstanding; come on, Napoleon and Francis Joseph, with your delectable crowd of "dogs of war," who fight for sixteen cents per day and lay the younger sister republic, Mexico, in the dust; ravish her of her liberties while her older sister cannot defend her or herself. Rouse all the mummies out of the holes, where indignant and oppressed Europe has stowed them; rally them to the charge once more! For "the great bubble of American liberty has burst at last." We always said it was only a "bubble," held up by the demagogues, Washington, Adams, Jefferson and the rest to dazzle the ignorant rabble. We always said the English constitution allowed all the liberty the "common herd" could appreciate; we always said "the bubble" would burst, and now it has and our predictions are all verified. The idea of "republican self-government" is exploded. Now let mankind come back to us, their old masters, and "strong' government and safety. Yes, and now with the laurels of the fifteenth century on our brows, with the banner of "the divine right of kings," with the incestous union of "church and state" redolent with the odor of roasting heretics, hetacombs of slaughtered infidels and Christians, we are coming to celebrate a triumph and put Maximillian on the throne of Mexico and emphatically veto that political heresy "the Monroe doctrine." We have come to reverse Yorktown and the American Revolution, the storming of the Bastile, and the French Revolution, the Mexican Republican Constitution and civil and religious liberty, divorcement of "church and state;" and we will wed them again with the benediction of the past. Thus reasoned the ignorance and brutality of the past; thus it roused itself to grapple at the throats of world's republics and the hope of humanity for the future. Every intelligent reader of history knows that the English government, house of lords and aristocracy have been the focal center and rallying point of the Bourbonism of Europe and the past as against the present and future of the world for the last century. The English people are great in many respects but they have for two centuries supported and to-day support a government whose morality is no better than that of Pa-

gan Rome. But it is "so English, you know." It brings in the money. India is robbed and plundered to grow opium, to debauch China and the world wherever its governments will permit. The following is the statement of an enlighted Christian Englishman of his country's connection with the opium traffic. *The Christian*, of February 3, 1887, says: "In British India the opium trade is "a gigantic government monopoly. Without a government license no opium can be grown. Government advances enable the cultivator to sow the seed. Government agents inspect the growth. To the government officials the crude opium is delivered up at the price which the government fixes. In the government factories alone is it manufactured to suit the Chinese taste. At monthly sales it is sold by government auctioneers at a profit of about 300 per cent, to be carried to China. The proceeds, amounting to about five millions sterling, are put in the government treasury. Could our connection with the trade be closer or our responsibility for it more complete? The opium grown in Malwa and the other native states is sent to Bombay for shipment to China. As it crosses British territory, a tax equal to half its value is levied upon it by British officials. From this source a further sum of about two and a half millions sterling passes into the government coffers. In proportion as we have made a market for opium in China, so this branch of the trade has grown. Altogether some seven and a half millions sterling of revenue per annum have been derived in India from the opium trade, though the amount is variable. Practically, this goes to pay the salaries of Indian officials who administer the government."

Of England's unprovoked attack upon China in 1841-2 to compel her to admit English opium at her ports. Ridpath, the historian, Vol. 3, 1334 page, says: "Thus by the law or the strongest and the law of the cannon was China compelled to expose her teeming millions to the ravages of the life destroying drug of Turkey, presented by the hand of Christian England. It was a work preparatory to the successful planting of Christian missions! The mockery needs no comment."

After forcing China into submission, England returns to India, and robs her beggared people of 76,80 ,000 acres of her richest lands, which she prostitutes to the production of opium. The common people of India have been beggared by England's presence for two centuries. Her conduct has been and is enough to have provoked ten "Sepoy Rebellions." Our fathers "rebelled" against English rule for mild treatment compared with it.

The common people of India work for two and a half and three cents a day to support the dissolute, brutal English policy and government in India and China. English speaking missionaries must feel embarrassed in preaching the gospel of peace and of the golden rule in the presence of the British flag. Intelligent India men must regard it as rather cold irony.

If the missionaries in India, who make so much ado of the "protection" they receive from England in India, would tell and

publish the tale of India's woe, as robbed, plundered and beaten annually into subjection, in my humble opinion the last one of them would be expelled from her borders in two years. They do not do it; the church does not do it. We say tell the truth if the heavens or John Bull falls. An enlightened liberty loving people, as we claim to be, ought to cry out against her worse than Pagan practices in India and China; expose her to the Christian world; create a moral public sentiment, that will drive the old civilized gouhl out of India and China, Turkey, Egypt and Ireland and her feudal perpetual public debt policy out of the United States. It is with shame we confess it; but it is a humiliating truth that English ce sorship seems to hold its sword over the "press," "secular and "religious" and the "pulpit" of our country. In the name of civil and religious liberty, in the name of Him who laid the foundation for it when he said "Do unto others as ye would that they should do to you," we invoke the return upon the country at least, in a measure of the "spirit of 1776." A very mild return and baptism of it will banish English intervention in our financial and political affairs and its ally our Anglicised perpetual public debt banking system. Our literature and schools and nearly all history in our tongue have been so anglicised and discolored that in nine out of ten instances the young, who quit our schools with a supposed education are compelled to unlearn all they had learned of the influence of English government in the world for the last three centuries. She has two plans of intermeddling in the affairs of other countries. A poor weak half civilized people are induced to give her foot-hold on the pretense of "commerce."

Once there she intrudes her soldiery and after that any resistance to her greedy dictation constitutes the natives rebels and they are promptly bayoneted into obedience. If a great people, too great for such methods then she sends her polished aristocratic diplomatists and capitalists to galvanize into life a sort of kindred class of their own in the country thus assailed; it is and has grown to be a well-defined system of political Jesuitism. The following is a copy of a circular said to have been used to corrupt our capitalists and bankers and signed by an English banker named Hasard in 1862. It will show whence the idea of our "National Banking System" came.

"Slavery is likely to be abolished by the war now in progress, and chattel slavery destroyed. This I and my European friends are in favor of, for slavery is but the owning of labor and carries with it the care of the laborer; while the European plan, led by England, is, capital controlling the money. To accomplish this, they (the bonds) must be used as the banking basis. We are now waiting to get the secretary of the treasury to make this recommendation to Congress. It will not do to allow the greenbacks, so called, to circulate any length of time, or we cannot control the bonds and through them the bank issue."

You see with that class of gentlemen the choice is between two

systems, "wage" or "chattel" slavery; and of the two this English banker has the candor to tell our capitalists and bankers they have tried both and prefer "wage slavery."

For the only difference in the two systems is actual "ownership" of the slave. But, by the system of "controling the money," they not only can enslave 3,000,000 black chattel slaves, but also, 45,000,000 of the "proud caucassian" as well. And the Secretary of the Treasury did recommend every measure asked by the English bank and capitalistic influence. And every successor of his since to this day has done it. Strange coincidence is it not? Before Senator Sherman became the open ally of the alien English bank influence in our political and financial affairs, he said of this influence and its interference in our affairs in a speech on the subject. "Many millions of our bonds and other securities have crossed the water and England is merry at the prospect of a rich tribute to be drawn yearly from the sweat and toil of American citizens."

How long it will take her to acquire the lion's share cannot be determined with mathematical certainty; but from the start she has taken, the period will be short, probably not longer than Washington and his army were engaged in accomplishing our independence." After we have banished the English bank influence gained our second declaration of independence and Yorktown, then let us put up an adamantine, constitutional barrier against the second entrance of such influence. The XII amendment as follows: Sec. 1. "Neither slavery or involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party stands convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction," did way forever with chattel slavery. Now, let the XVI Amendment, in the following or like words forever do way with anglicised perpetual public debt "wage slavery." Article XVI, Sec. I. "Hereafter no interest-bearing obligation of the United States shall ever be issued for any purpose; nor shall interest be paid upon any such obligations." That is the next Amendment to be made; until made, we have "wage slavery" in existence. But what will we do in time of war? Do just as we have always done; just as Washington and the Revolutionary Fathers did; just as we did in 1862 when we had no foreign or domestic credit; just as we did half way by the legal tender acts; coin the faith, credit, patriotism of the nation into (next time) a full legal tender money. Then pass an act declaring it high treason for any man to assail their character as money, and on conviction make the penalty banishment forever from the United States. For in the first place no war is justifiable, only a war of self-defense to preserve the republic, or its immediate allies from invasion or itself from insurrection. And let the man and womanhood of each successive American generation be pledged and held responsible for preserving and handing down unimpaired, the liberties and constitution of the Republic, to its succesor. Let it be understood once and forever, that every man and every dollar stand pledged and subject to call as a volunteer, or by draft if necessary, for that

purpose. And teach the sordid, political ingrate and scoundrel, who will not assent to these measures, that he had better seek a more congenial clime where they have rich men's wars, and poor men's fights;" where 300 families own half the land and wealth of the country and a perpetual public debt mortgage on all of it and where the "wage slaves" stay if they can rent. If the government can draft the poor man's all, soul, body and time, to make a living for his family, to hold a bayonet and make a wall of flesh to repel the invader, it can draft the rich man's dollar's to feed and clothe him and his family, while he does it. A government that cannot or will not do it is unworthy of the name. This capitalistic class of gentlemen seem to have exalted ideas of the rights of capital; in their estimation, human flesh and blood is pitifully cheap. That the poor man's body is none too good to be drafted into line, to stop an invader's bullets, but their property is too sacred to be even indirectly pledged with the rest of the life and fortune of the republic, for the payment of legal tender notes to save the life of the nation. In the great legal tender decision, they raised and pressed the point that to make anything but gold or silver a legal tender for debt violated and impaired the obligation of contracts in permitting the debt to be paid in a cheaper money; and that the legal tender acts were unconstitutional, both as to contracts made before and since their passage for this reason. To this argument the Supreme Court says: "Neither of these assumptions can be accepted. It is true that under the acts a debtor who became such before they were passed, may discharge his debt with the notes authorized by them and the creditor is compelable to receive such notes in discharge of his claim. But whether the obligation of the contract is thereby weakened can be determined only after considering what was the contract obligation. It was not a duty to pay gold or silver, or the kind of money recognized by law at the time when the contract was made, nor was it a duty to pay money of equal intrinsic value in the market. (We speak now of contracts to pay money generally, not contracts to pay some specifically defined species of money.) The expectation of the creditor and the anticipation of the debtor may have been that the contract would be discharged by the payment of coined metals, but neither the expectation of one party to the contract respecting its fruits, nor the anticipation of the other constitutes its obligations. There is a well recognized distinction between the expectation of the parties to a contract and the duty imposed by it. * * Were it not so, the expectation of results would be always be equivalent to a binding engagement that they should follow.

But the obligation of a contract to pay money, is to pay that which the law shall recognize as money, when the payment is to be made." That is, these would be tyrants were told in plain words, money is a societary invention for mutual convenience and a creature of municipal law. We recognize the fact you are members of society and owe it some obligations, whether you do or not.

You propose to and *do* enjoy its benefits; you must and shall share some of its, may be burdens, in periods of peril and danger. And then proceeds to illustrate how the "fruits" of a contract may be entirely destroyed by government, in its efforts in taking measures to preserve society and itself, in time of war, or by its assertion of its rights of eminent domain in time of peace. "Every contract for the payment of money, simply, is of necessity subject to the constitutional power of the government over the currency, whatever that power may be, and the obligation of the parties is therefore assumed, with reference to that power Nor is this singular. A covenant for quiet enjoyment is not broken, nor is its obligation impaired by the government taking the land granted in virtue of its eminent domain. The expectation of the covenantee may be disappointed. He may not enjoy all he anticipated, but the grant was made and the covenant undertaken in subordination to the paramount right of the government, (cites authorities.) * * *

Nor can it be truthfully asserted that Congress may not, by its action indirectly, impair the obligation of contracts, if the *expression* be meant rendering contracts fruitless, or partially fruitless. Directly it may, confessedly, by passing a bankrupt act, embracing past as well as future transactions. This is obliterating contracts entirely, so it may relieve parties from their apparent obligations indirectly in a multitude of ways. It may declare war, or, even in peace, pass non-intercourse acts, or *direct* an embargo. All such measures may, and must operate seriously upon existing contracts, and may not merely hinder, but relieve the parties to such contracts, entirely from performance." And as we have heretofore pointed out, does do these very things, also, by the execution and homestead exemption laws in time of peace If in time of war the issue of a reasonable volume of legal tender notes does not meet the exigencies of the situation, levy income and other taxes first. If this does not suffice and addititional drafts of men and means are necessary, while it drafts poor men, to fill the rank and file of the army, at the same time draft the rich man's money;—assess upon every citizen above such a sum, above his debts say, who owns $10,000 above all liabilities, so much on the $100. to raise the necessary revenue and enact these provisions now, in time of peace, while it can be done deliberately. Do not wait to do it as we were compelled to do in 1862, with all the anti republican forces entrenched behind the seats of a venal Senate, under the threatening cloud of war. But do it with the clear sky of peace overhead, when we have no compromise to offer or receive from the minnions of tyranny and greed.

Poor men and men of small means ought to refuse to bear arms for a government that will draft them to fill the ranks of its armies and refuse to draft the rich man's money, to pay the expenses of the war. The soldier in our late war was paid $13.00 in legal tender notes depreciated at one time one hundred and forty per cent, or, at the rate of about $6.00 per month.

And that caused by the two "exceptions" on the note, put there to appease the greed of the gold gambling thieves, "wage slave" holders.

While government paid its soldiers in greenbacks worth $400 in gold on the $1,000, these tories were buying U. S. six per cent gold interest bonds, payable in five or due in twenty years, that recited in their face they were payable in "lawful money of the country" a $1,000 bond for $400 in gold; or the same thing $1,000 in legal tender notes for $400 in gold and then buy the bond with the notes. And this was not enough; they would not accept legal tender notes in payment of their bonds in 1869, when the notes were worth 73.5 cents on the dollar; but they conspired with our English bank tories and all together with the aid of John Sherman passed the Infamous Act to strengthen the public credit, and indirectly pledge the people to the payment of their 5-20 bonds in coin. Our Congress "pensioned" its gallant bond-holding, gold gambling tories who hung like vultures on the outskirts of the battle field to rob the dead and prey on the veterans, widows and children of both sides. Its gallant bond-holders who entrenched themselves behind the seats of a venal Senate who were and are the vanguard, the rear guard, the rank, file, staff line and provision train of our feudal English banking system. What has it done for the "musket-holder" who was paid $6.00 to $8.00 per month? When was the act passed to make good government obligations to him? It is as if our fathers had pensioned Arnold and the "hessians" and the highly respectable set of lords and ladies of Boston who sailed out with Gen. Howe, when Washington informed that worthy and his class of American citizens who sang "Yankee Doodle," it was time for them to go, March 17, 1775. A people who will continue to tamely submit to the species of outrage class legislation and robbery, to which the American people have for the last twenty years, are incapable of sustaining our form of government. It only remains to be seen if they will. We mistake if our Anglicised corporation aristocracy do not see omens of another "Boston Tea Party" before many years.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A STATE.

I.

What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised †battlements, or labored mound,
Thick wall, or †moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and †turrets crowned.
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and †spangled courts,
Where low-born baseness wafts perfume to pride.

II.

No; men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes indued,
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude:
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights; and knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
These constitute a state;
And sovereign law, that state's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress, crowning good, repressing ill:
Smit by her sacred frown,
The fiend Discretion,* like a vapor, sinks,
And e'en the all-dazzling crown
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE.

This subject relates to international policy. In this nations ought, as in all others, to "do to others as they would, that others do to them."

But experience shows they do not and a people have the same right to protect their industries so as to reap the fruit of their labor they have to wage a war of self-defense to expel an invader.

A true civilization of Christian morality would unify all human interests and put an end to the entire doctrine and controversy. The more we study the subject of political economy, no matter from what stand-point we view it, we see the true interests of human industry and civilization are identical. And the man or class, who conspire to deprive labor of its just reward, conspire against the true interests of society and civilization.

If "Protection" for what? One great political party of the day says "for revenue," the other "for revenue only."

In fact under our constitution, government has no right to lay a tariff or duty as such for either purpose. It does not belong to the taxing power. A tax is a sum levied pro rata upon a man's present possessions; it must be uniform with that levied on other like classes of persons and property; and is levied solely to defray the

* Discretionary or arbitrary power.

expenses of government. The tariff is not levied on what the citizen owns in the present, but on what he is expected to use or buy in the future and without regard to whether or not it bears on all with equal burden. The distinction is sometimes made of direct and indirect tax.

All there is in protection that is like a tax is that after the measure yields revenue and no other purpose is known to which to devote it, it is paid into the public treasury and used as other revenues collected as taxes are used.

In truth, it is a mere measure of national policy and political economy, like the family of the homestead and execution, exemption and bankrupt laws. If to raise "revenue" or for "revenue only" were the only purpose, for which protective tariff were laid it is clear, they ought not to be laid at all. For it would be an unjust unconstitutional use of the taxing power. If "protection" then for what? For manufacturers it is answered! All well but how?—By laying an indirect tax on all the rest of society of the country to protect and build up certain industries.

And that is, or may be, all well, but it has limits in time and degree.

If we do so tax ourselves for such a purpose for awhile to build up our manufacturers, that supposes that some time there will be a time when they are built up and established and may stand on their own footing.

We have no right in this country directly or indirectly to tax one or all other industries to build up one only in so far as it can be shown that as a matter of fact and policy in the end in the course of years, it will be better even for those who are thus taxed, and, in fact they will in the end, be benefitted thereby in the general prosperity in increased wealth and revenues and exemption from burdens and national commercial independence. And it is a measure of national policy used against an outside, a second nationality. It does not belong to inter or domestic policy. It clearly is unconstitutional as applied to two domestic industries, that are both admitted to be lawful, neither under the ban of public policy.

That class of domestic legislation that discriminates between two businesses or industries must come within the exercise of the police power to have a constitutional foundation. If it is a business wrong under the ban of public policy, an injury to society so declare and outlaw it. If not let it alone. The "revenue" is "only" a secondary consideration. If it were the "only" one we would have no right to make a tariff rate at all; that is not the way to raise revenue. There was a time in our earlier history when this subject was of much more importance to us than now. Protection as a policy implies that it is temporary.

If an industry or species of manufacture does not by it approach to a footing so it may by degrees be withdrawn, and stand alone, it condemns the whole system; it does not accomplish what was intended. As a fact we know it does tend that way; and many such

enterprises that once needed such assistance, now need it no more, or in a less degree. And it is the duty of Congress in the exercise of a sound discretion to withdraw such protection just as fast as it can be done, so as not to endanger the industry; or otherwise it runs to an imposition and monopoly.

To engage in manufacturing enterprises to any considerable extent, requires capital to procure shops, material, machinery and laborers. The commencement of manufacturing enterprises is always attended with difficulties. In the first place it takes time, experience and expense to perfect machinery and skill laborers, so that a perfect article may be produced; and when once produced it may take time and expense to find for it a market. During all this time the new establishment may be compelled to compete with those that are already established in the market, and thus have the prestige. This was the case with manufactures in our country in its early history, and it was found impossible to establish them without home protection. As Lord Brougham said when discussing this question in the House of Lords, "It is the policy of England to strangle foreign manufactures in their swaddling cloths," referring to our attempt in that direction at that time.

He then advocated 'free trade' as the means by which to accomplish this to him, most desirable end, and England to-day advocates the same doctrine for the same purpose.

When our country did adopt free trade policy for a time, it enabled the English manufactures to close up our shops just as effectually as if they had stationed a red-coat guard at the door of each one, and turned our laborers into the streets. We could not compete with their great capital and cheap labor.

Since capital is required in the establishment of manufacturing enterprises it follows that the interests of capital and manufacture become identified and united. And to have command of the manufacturing interests of a civilized country, is to have command to a great extent of its resources.

The questions of a protective tariff and free trade are pre-eminently political ones and of all others ought to be discussed dispassionately; for the policy pursued by governments on this subject has made and unmade nations.

The establishment of manufactures tends to sharpen and quicken the inventive genius of a people, to make them independent, thrifty and energetic; a matter of no small import.

And the labor of producing the raw material is usually the most slavish; while that of producing the manufactured article, although not so severe, is more remunerative. Also the producer of the raw material draws directly upon the natural resources of his country; while the manufacturer draws upon and invest nothing but his machinery and labor. The nation that does not manufacture must pay those that do its work. It has nothing with which to pay except the raw material, hence it must make a double draw on its natural resources, and thus support, at least in part, the manufacturing peo-

ple. As, if we raise wool and do not manufacture cloth, but hire it done, then we must raise and sell an amount double our own demands, one half for our own use, the other to hire our own work done. And, as we must have cloth, and have no machinery and skilled labor to make it, we are at the mercy of the manufacturers; their avarice, war, famine, or pestilence may cut off our supply.

Our true policy is protection where it is necessary for protection always; but for revenue or for "revenue only" never. The west and south now need protection against the east nearly as much as the east ever needed it against England. But this must be done at the polls, and in fostering home manufactures. It cannot be done by legislation. It must be done by snowing under with the ballot, the undue and tyrannical influence of the corporation money power that levies contributions, excises and taxes upon us, the like of which our Fathers never knew. Compared to which the "stamp act" and others of its kind were mild. And they are crushing the enterprise and spirit and robbing the masses of the people of the east in common with us.

CHAPTER XIV.

Insurance—Life and Fire.

Life Insurance ought to be prohibited by law. (1.) It is in fact and morals and in law ought to be considered a gambling contract. On the company side the "stake" put up played for is the sum named in the policy; on the policy holder's side, the "stake" is the "premium."

One of the main inducements to the business on the company side is the "forfeitures" by lapsing by failures to pay premiums. A simple life policy is just such a wager as if I say to you, I will wager you $2,000 that the first day of April, 1896 will be a clear day. Or I will wager you $2,000 that there will not be thirty consecutive clear days in this latitude in thirty years. And you say I will do it if you will pay me twenty-five dollars premium each year until there does come thirty consecutive such days.

(2). The entire motive on both sides is to get something for nothing. If the terms of the policy or wager do ever become forfeit on either side one or the other does get something for nothing.

Every such enterprise that holds out inducement to engage in such wagers or contracts to get something for nothing is positively wrong in principle and pernicious in its effect on society. It is the same as the lottery and wheel of fortune, only as a rule the wager takes a longer term of years to decide it, being as it is decided by life and death. Every occupation and so-called business that fur-

nishes facilities to accomplish and that does accomplish such objects, aids and assists in taking something for nothing; tends to destroy the dependence of society upon good faith, labor, for "livings" to destroy the equation that ought always to subsist between production or earnings and consumption; and to repeal the law, "that if a man will not labor, neither shall he eat."

This encourages idleness and shiftlessness on one hand and discourages industry and thrift on the other.

(3). The entire business is begotten and born in usury, fed and fattened on it, "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity."

(4). The only argument attempted to be made in its defence is, it is a good way for a poor man to make provision for his family in case of sudden death. That is there is a chance for his family to get something for nothing. A speculation on the Board of Trade is a chance for the same thing and he does not have to die to win. The object is laudable, but a right thing may be done, or attempted in a wrong way, and ten to one the Board or the company will freeze and forfeit him out.

The greater his poverty the worse his health, the more dire his necessities the greater the probability they will do it. In fact he must have both health and money to commence to wage with the company; the Board will only ask him to put up the premiums. One is as respectable and as good morals as the other; in fact both are immoral.

(5). If there was anything in this argument, the charity and providing feature of the insurance, then the mutual and co-operative plans would be the true one. But even it is easily demonstrated to be based on no principle but selfishness and short-sighted selfishness at that, no just or true principle in it. For at the best it is admitted to be only a combination of the strong or able to help each other for help in return. "If ye do good to them who do good to you, what thanks have ye? Do not even the publicans so? It is unchristian, uncharitable and false; any such a combination in society is unjust to the rest, for it is in so far as it is for each other against the rest.

At the least the very essence of charity is, that the able shall help the weak; but here the obligation is that the able shall help the able, first at least, and for help again. For no person in failing health so as to be likely to become an actual object of charity can gain admission to one of them In fact they are no more or less than "mutual" and "co-operative" selfishness and as usual such motive of action soon overreaches and punishes itself. For in twenty years from to-day not one of these companies now in existence will be here. For they are built on the quicksands of selfishness and they cannot stand.

(6.) The test and touch stone of a usage, law or principle of business is, if it is just and upon a true principle it may be universal in its benefits and burdens to all persons and still it will be healthful and just. Try the entire business by this test and it fails.

Suppose government would enact a law that upon the death of the head of every family, it should be paid the sum of $1,000. What would be the result? If all did in fact pay their share of tax that would have to be levied to do it all would be in fact injured by the tax to the amount it cost to levy, collect and distribute the fund. For it would be taking from the family just that much more than would ever be returned to them. Or if, as is always the case, some failed to pay their share of tax, and it was carried out, the system would only put a premium on idleness and indigence.

And from every view it is in the end self-condemning. That it seems to do well in special instances may be true. The proceeds of a speculation on the Board of Trade, may in some instances do the same.

(7). The enormous sums of capital accumulated by the old line companies in the business shows them to be frauds and an imposition on society. True they sometimes lose and pay wagers or policies; so do the lottery schemes as one of the best advertisements. And these companies you will find put the losses they have paid in bold type for the same purpose. The capital now held and used by these companies in this country as stated by themselves is $425,000,000 in round numbers. "Net surplus" they give at $65,000,000.

With the older and richer companies life insurance is only a secondary matter. They now begin to compete with the Rothschilds and other usurers of the world. They are like gamblers who have made great fortunes in "shoving the queer;" who marry respectable wives, join, at least become brothers-in-law to a respectable (?) church and run the whole business. He may practice his old time vocation for amusement, or on a good subject; so do these companies their life insurance.

Their main business is to influence and corrupt legislation, so as to dodge taxation and loan money. In the Western States, where the farms are covered from five to twenty dollars deep to the acre with their mortgages at 6 per cent to eight per cent interest and 6 to 12 per cent commission, they do not pay a cent of taxes. And in in nine out of ten instances they do not pay taxes on the money in the State of their residence. If they do pay taxes there it is unjust; for their loans in these western States are an investment, protected by the law and the courts of these States are used to enforce their obligations. In these States resident capital and money is taxed; but these good Samaritans are so sought for they are invited to come and stay like the churches and cemeteries, free from taxation, and they are about as easily filled and satisfied as the cemeteries.

Their loans compounded at six per cent by re-loans double each ten years without regard to commission.

Take their assets at this rate for a period of forty years and see what you have.

And under their charters they are to loan only; they do not

choose to own property that might be taxed; that is a burden of one and a half to two per cent.

Fire and other assurance against accidental fire, lightning, earthquakes, tornadoes and floods is legitimate. But it ought not to be in the hands of private persons or corporations as a source of private gain. At this time the business is done in this country by about one hundred and eighty companies, who claim to own about $88,000,000 of capital. Net surplus $76,000,000 in round numbers. Assets $164,000,000. Statistics published by themselves show the American people paid the 177 companies in business in this country in the year 1887, in premiums the sums $90,500,000. The same statistics show they paid the people the same year in losses the sum of $55,276,000.

And it thus appears by deducting the "losses" from the premiums there was paid these companies that year the sum of $35,224,000 for management of the business of property insurance, equal to sixty-three per cent of the entire sum of losses paid; that is the sums of $200,000 to each one of the 177 companies then in business.

That is an outrageous showing for a free, intelligent commercial people. But what would be better? is the question. Let the United States enact a general law, providing for a commensurate fund to be raised by taxation to meet the purpose; that is to all losses occasioned by earthquakes, floods, tornadoes and great city or other fires where the loss is so general and so great as to burden the country where it occurs. Provide a simple, plain remedy for proving the losses and certifying them to be paid to the proper department and officer. And for sake of safety in all other cases, such as accidental fires, fires from lightning, explosions and other accident when the owner is not guilty of culpable civil negligence let him file a petition in the circuit or some court of record to be designated in the county, and be required to prove by a clear preponderance of the evidence his loss to be found by a jury. The proper officers to defend all such cases to prevent the perpetration of fraud, and not to exceed 66 per cent of the actual loss to be paid in any case, except such as are in law from the "Act of God" and providing that it may be less, if any degree of negligence by the claimant is shown; costs to be awarded to prevailing party, all such losses to be paid out of a fund to be raised in the county.

It might be well to provide that the losses in all cases should be proven up in the local or state courts and then when the losses were shown to be of a nature to be payable from the general fund of the United States provide a simple way for certifying them to be paid Under this system all would have insurance without regard to policy, there would be no expired or lapsed policies. A man would be insured under the law; it would be in fact a Christian mutual charitable "bearing of each other's burdens," saying to those of our fellow-citizens upon whom crushing losses fell, do not be cast down or overwhelmed; we are all united and strong; we will parcel your

loss out among us, so many of us, none of us will scarcely feel it. And we would not. The insurance of all in the Republic would not cost as much as we now pay, for perhaps one half of the property.

The expenditures of the War Department and for pensions both, for the year 1886 was $97,729,016, only $7,229,000 more than the sum paid by the American people for "premiums" to the companies, for the year 1887.

The estimated cost of the Legislative department of our government as stated, by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, for the year 1887, was $3,275,828. The Executive Department for the same period was estimated at $18,491,311. The Judicial Department for the same period was estimated at $408,300, or a total of $22,174,439 Or 13,000,000 less than the cost of the "management" of the property insurance of the United States, as done by the 177 companies in 1887 The sum paid these companies for the item of "management" alone, that is, attending to the business, in the year 1887, according to their own figures, would sustain a standing army, in the United States, of 117,400 men at a cost of $25. per month, or $300. per annum per man A pretty good garrison is it not for the one item of property insurance? Then add to this the $64,000,000 paid the Life Insurance companies per annum for "premium" and we have an addition to our standing (or sitting) army of Insurance agents of 210,000 more or a Grand Army of 327,000 men. But these Life Insurance companies claim they pay cash $30,000,000 of the 64,000,000 in "claims on policies." Well, admit it and then the grand sitting army of Life Insurance agents is only 113,333 men and the entire body reduced to 250,000 men, quite a garrison to support for the one item of property and life insurance.

And this burden the American people pay because they do not regulate the business by law.

CHAPTER XV.

Paternity and Centralization in Government.

Every measure to check and limit the undue influence and power of private and corporate capital in relation to the subjects of transportation, money and land, is met with the argument it tends to paternity and centralization in government; it is too much interference and soon government must *do everything*. That it tends to suppress or discourage the enterprise and genius of the people and must end in a too great centralization of power.

These are proper considerations when applied to the right subjects

But as applied to us and our form of government in that behalf

it is, if anything, an argument against the spirit and form of the very constitution.

There are two *extremes*, too little as well as too much government. The argument is that these subjects of transportation, money, land and insurance are too great, too much involved in them, too much power used in regulating these subjects, and that too directly effects the citizens to be entrused to government. If it gets this power it will grow to overshadowing extents and crush private rights.

As we have, seen our government consists in the powers conceded by the citizen to society and exercised by the duly chosen or appointed agents, as indicated in the constitution. When the citizen enter the state of society regulated by law he is compelled to cede some natural rights and powers to be exercised by it.

Under the constitution the first one ceded is the right to fractionize our society for any political, law-making, interpreting or executing purpose. All such subjects are to be acted upon by "we, the people of the United States." He cedes the natural right of redress of his wrongs and defenses of person and property except in case of actual personal trespass or assault; and this function exercised by government becomes the judicial department.

The same of the law-making and executing power. Also of the right, at least the power, of barter from hand to hand, and every other property right goes with the law-making, interpreting and executing power.

Our constitution is a compact, the citizen is one, society the other party to it. Our government consists of the acts and doings of the agents chosen under the constitution in protecting the interests and rights of the citizen on one hand and society on the other. And the argument of paternity is simply one against the spirit, intent and form of our government. It insinuates at least that our form of government cannot be entrusted with so much power; it will grow exacting and will encroach and trench upon private rights. As we have seen the whole structure from "turret to foundation stone" is held together, by faith, trust, confidence. It is this faith leads the citizen to confide to his government the right and power to protect his interests, and society could not be established in any other way.

And these against such confidence are always the arguments of the elements who do not want to submit to constitutional and legal limitations upon their acts and doings; these are always the arguments of the men and classes of men who have no faith themselves, in God or man, and who are unwilling to submit their claims to the rule of "do to others as ye would that they should do to you." And the argument in regard to transportation and money by incorporate greed and capital is that now in the process of time under the constitution, these two great interests of society have developed and grown up to be so powerful they have grown from under government regulation and in fact it would be dangerous to ally them and

government as to management. In a word carried out to its legitimate conclusions it is that our form of government has been tested, in part at least, and as to these two great subjects it is a failure. For here are two subjects that are of the very essence of the polity of a civilized society subjected to its control by the constitution and our form of government cannot be entrusted to attempt to manage them; but here it must be supplemented by private management and control to protect private right from government "paternity and centralization." The citizen from the nature of the case can have no control over these subjects only through it, and it is the duty of government to exclude private ownership and control. It may as well be argued that government cannot be entrusted to "borrow money on the credit of the United States" or "to regulate commerce" as that it cannot be entrusted to regulate these two means by which commerce is accomplished. For the fact is there can be no society, no commerce, without transportation and money.

These two great factors will be and remain right here among us growing in importance and power every year and will be controlled by private or public and agents and the power will be the same and is the same in the hands of the one or the other class of agents.

And outside the constitution it becomes a question of choice between the two classes of agents. If it is too much power for government, we suggest it is too much power for private control. We may concede that both classes are men, and one as a class as good as the other. But still these controling considerations are in favor of government control.

1. The government agents will not own the property or have any interest in or expectation of gain from the management of the property and service only to do duty and gain the salary.

2. They will be under oath and bond and responsible and governed by law. As to the second class, first, they elect themselves, second, they own the property, third, they hope to and do make unconscionable gains on their "watered stock" and management.

3. They make, interpret and administer their own law, are responsible to no one. It is simply corporation dust thrown in the eyes of the masses of the people by a class of men who have and still propose to set themselves above the constitution and law to enable them to follow the dictates of their ungovernable greed of gain.

It is an argument not against any abuse, or practice of republican representative self-government, but against its *very letter, spirit and form*. An attempt to sow the seed of popular distrust that would if grown to full harvest choke out and destroy it.

CHAPTER XVI.

To Gentlemen of the Bar.

Where the common law, the jury system and constitutional limitations upon political power obtain foot-hold, the court-house is a school house and you are school masters of civil and religious liberty. You put the law into living words and make living applications of it to causes.

You put the machinery of the courts in motion and draw from them the judgments and decrees that determine to the minds of the people the great subject of mine and thine. You enforce by illustration the subjects of vested rights and contract, the majesty of the law and the truth that in obedience to it only is their safety. The very study of history necessary to any proficiency in your profession, leads and schools you in the trains of thought followed by the statesman. The very study of your profession leads you to investigate and classify the general truths of history, leads you to contemplate the conditions under which institutions grow or decay and how they have grown and decayed in different ages of men; how civil and religious liberty have been gained and how they have been lost. Your study has led you to observe that the original cause that led to great changes in the affairs of men were further back than appeared to the casual reader of history. That for years, a century it may be, the conditions of the political atmosphere had been portending a storm. The crash and whirl of the civil revolution came on like the avalanche. It has been coming for days, months, maybe years; but it was only a tendency at first; a melting away of supports, a mere tendency to move, a silent one at that; but at last comes a day, an hour, when it seems it does move, and with a vengeance in roar and thunder. All great political movements and revolutions of society are indicated at first by only silent tendencies. Sometimes their greatest results are accomplished in silent constitutional transitions.

If you have studied the lessons of history taught by other countries you ought to study the lessons taught by the situation of our own. You cannot but see that in the last twenty years aggregated and incorporate wealth has made such strides in encroachments upon labor as were never made in any other country in the same length of time. In that time the original rules of interpretation of the charter and powers of corporations has undergone great innovations and changes.

It is no use any longer for a private suiter to raise any question as to their powers, questions of *ultra vires*

For if he does the courts say to him—no matter if it be so; "no one can take advantage of such abuses of their charters and powers, but the sovereign power of the State."

It is well known the "sovereign power" of the state, that granted its charter, ten to one is *another* than the one where it viciously violates it, and the rule is simply a mild way of absolutely denying justice. While this is being written a great railroad corporation in Missouri, in open violation of her constitution and laws, has formed a "Land and Town Company," is to-day engaged in buying lands along the line of its roads, plating and "booming towns," and "speculating in town lots," notwithstanding the Supreme Court of this State said directly, in the case of Pacific Railway Co. vs. Seeley, 45 Mo. 212, no such company in this State could do it.

So it goes all over the country. At the present rate of encroachment it would seem these artificial persons would soon demand the right to vote, marry and be given in marriage. These encroachments and usurpations are now to be held and exercised under the cloaks of regulation by "Commissions." We have Railroad and "Insurance Superintendents" and "Commissions." They are an easy-going slipshod way of seeming to do and yet doing nothing; they are another name for the exercise of "prerogative" of almost unbounded power. We ask you, as lawyers, to define the legal and political status of one of these "commissions." To what department of government do they belong? the law-making, interpreting, or executing? An examination will show you in an hour that none of them belong to any one of these three; they are a species of cross, hybrid, or mule—a legal *nullius filius*, without pride of ancestry or hope of posterity. Where is the place for you in any of them, to file a suit for relief to a private suiter? How can you know what is the law as to "reasonable charges," that may or may not be violated?

Suppose you do, between the "commission" and corporations find out what the law is, and that it has been trampled under foot and your suit is filed; where are you to have a trial? before whom? and what is your judgment to be? In truth you *know* there is no place for anything but a "parley" with the corporation on one hand and the uncertain legal or illegal quantity, or personages called for euphony a "commission" on the other. You or your client may stand by the side of your valiant "commissioner," carpet-bag in hand and 'chip in" at times in the "parley." It is all a farce in every respect, to everybody, but its actual costs to the tax-payer. As a court it is not even a respectable "bureaucracy,"—does not reach even that dignity. It suppresses the public cause, enforced by public trial and the voice of a living advocate. The corporation judges and "commissions" do not have time to listen often to the clamour of oral argument. In these "commissions" there is no time or place for it. It better suits the enterprise of another class of talent—the professional lobbyist,—the class of lawyers who succed in applying the *law to the case*, rather than the *case to the law*.

The solon of the state legislature who makes himself useful to the overgrown corporations, as a law maker and lobbyist before the "commissioners" and assessment boards or boards of equalization of assessments, without regard to any other qualifications, takes the

corporation attorneyship, on a gilt edge salary. The real advocate, who disdains his tricks and subterfuges, is at a discount. The lobbyist appears with tinted paper briefs, with an air of wonderful profundity, and looks down with ill concealed disdain upon all who do not countenance his methods. He informs you "nothing succeeds like success," even if it is "selling your birthright for a mess of pottage." It is high time a halt be called. We must do it or do worse. You see it as plainly as any patent fact. It may be easier to drift with the tide, but after awhile the roar and whirl of the civil cataract, or mælstrom, will break on our ears Our fathers made the declaration and gained our independence over the direct assumptions of absolute prerogative.

But the declaration of independence and its conflict against commercial and financial serfdom to aggregate and incorporate capital comes a century later. It falls on our time, you cannot shut your eyes to it if you would. As Patrick Henry said in the Virginia House of Burgesses, "Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace; the war is actually begun." True, as yet there is little blood shed; and yet, we have as many as ten outrageous shootings by corporation thugs, ten times as outrageous and bloody as the "Boston Massacre," that filled our fathers with such indignation. We are, on the confines of a commercial, a financial, a political revolution.

That is now a determined fact; the only thing unsettled and undetermined is whether it will be confined to legal and constitutional methods and means; confined to the forum of justice and reason or go to the form and arena of force. And that will be determined by the prompt action and conduct of the considerate and patriotic men in our country, who can if they will, conduct us through the crisis without resort to force. But if the Herr Most anarchists at one end of the situation and the capitalistic anarchists at the other are to be permitted in the future, as they have in the past twenty years, to be the only heeded expounders of the relative rights of labor and capital, they will carry the cause and us with it, into the arena of force. The capitalistic anarchists are the more dangerous class of the two; they are the minority, the insolent, the powerful, the encroaching class. They are the "patrician," the "stomach" element of our political economy; the stomach, the baggage and provision train, the camp-followers and sutlers have mutinied, rebelled and turned on the main body of the army of society. It would be ludicrous if it did not accomplish and threaten such dire results.

The rank and file, the main body of society, go whispering about, in rags and whining in poverty and underliving, while bloated sutlers and money changers and gamblers, wagon and baggage masters cut grotesque Falstaffian figures with cocked hats, spur and whip. They crack their whip and "round up" the rank and file to vote once in four years; that is to receive their party "brand" and "belonging" as the "cow boys" do their herds on the plains.—And woe betide the political steer, the fanatic, that raises his caudal

appendage shakes his head, refuses to be branded and starts out on a course to form another political herd or party. The cow boys of a venal ignorant press go after him; they ply him with hot irons and "brands" of vile names, until he has neither hide or hair to receive the impress of another. But there must, there will come an end to this. The stomach, the sutler, the bag and baggage train will grow more and more relentless in its measures. The greater the coward the more cruel his methods; history shows that women as tyrants are more bloody than men; the "squaw" is more merciless than the "brave," the "clergy" as a class than the secular power, and the same of sutlers, the hospital nurse, the baggage master, the mule whacker, the miser, the usurer; the shylock takes his "pound of flesh from nearest his heart, for so it is written, in the bond."

After awhile the rank and file of society will turn on the sutlers, camp followers and gamblers of the army of society and then what "a fall will be there my countrymen," in usury, income, in reasonable charges for freights; what a scattering among the sutlers and gamblers; they will be put to the rout, horse, foot, ambulance sleepers and Delmonico on wheels, boots, bottles and fine cigars.

But in our humble opinion nobody will be hurt. "Marry in coming on" Falstaff and his body guard and baggage train will have "the cramp;" he will call for a commission and parley, indeed he has that now: the whole commission family are the rear and vanguard the wardens of his train. The three departments of constitutional self-government are made and based in the nature of things; that principle cannot be violated without endangering the integrity and safety of the whole fabric. It is not technical, it is a matter of substance as you know. And these commissions are conglomerations of the functions of each the law-making, interpreting and executing powers. These corporations, railroad, insurance and banking have grown so great and absolute in demands that the ordinary proceedings under the constitutionally appointed agents and departments, one to make, one to interpret and one to execute the law, have grown inadequate to meet the case, they say.

And a kind of nameless nonentity, with no defined power, not belonging either to the legislative or law-making department, and yet having a sort of law-making power in regulating "reasonable charges;" a sort of judicial authority to interpret the law and yet no power to try a cause, empanel a jury or render a judgement. In short, a sort of corporation, legislative, judicial constable or smelling committee on wheels, rolling over the State or United States.—It is a costly method of compelling the corporations to do as they please. It is no more or less, examine for yourself.

"The preservation of free government requires not merely that the metes and bounds which separate each department be invariably maintained, but more especially, that neither of them be per-

mitted to overleap the barrier, which defends the rights of the people.

The rulers who are guilty of such an encroachment exceed the commission from which they receive their authority and are tyrants. The people who submit to it are governed by laws, made neither by themselves nor by any authority derived from them and are slaves."—[Madison.

"The powers of government shall be divided into three distinct departments—the legislative, executive and judicial, each of which, shall be confided to a separate magistracy; and no person or collection of persons charged with the exercise of power properly belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others, except in the instances in this constitution expressly directed or permitted." Distribution of Powers, Article III Constitution of Missouri. I challenge all the corporation lawyers in the State to point out any exception in the Constitution of this State that authorizes the mixture of legislative, judicial and executive functions that are attempted or pre ended to be vested in the "Superintendent of Insurance" and the "Railroad Commission" of this State.

To the contrary it is expressly provided in Sec. 14 of Article XII that "The General Assembly * * shall from time to time, pass laws establishing reasonable maximum rates of charges for transportation * * and enforce all such laws by adequate penalties." That principle of "distribution of powers" as laid down in the Constitution of the State of Missouri and nearly all the other States is the fundamental one of the Constitution of the U. S. and is always kept distinctly in view by the Supreme Court in construing it.

Do you not see in the board of commissioners invented and contended for by the corporations themselves, the worm of human cupidity and absolute greed eating at the heart, silently it is true, of the tree of liberty?

CHAPTER XVII.

Strikes and Boycots.

A word should not be said to discourage laboring men in their efforts to gain their rights. The spirit of resistance shown to class laws and tyranny is commendable, it is our only hope. But no abiding relief can ever be gained by the strikes and boycots as practiced for some years. In the first place who are laboring men and who are capitalists, between whom the real contest is waged and for what is it done? It is not a new one in the history of the world; it

has convulsed society, in all ages, climes and conditions where civilization has reached a status, so that capital accumulated and populations grew dense.

But as applied to us where is the line between "Labor" on one side and "Capital" on the other?

Who may properly be called a "laboring man" and who a capitalist, under the existing order of things? For ours is in fact a contest for the earnings, the reward of labor. It is the contest crowded upon us by the false principle we have discussed that "capital" as such has a right to earn income and thus compete with labor for its reward.

Any man who owns capital sufficient to earn, as it is called, enough to support him and his from year to year without being supplemented by his actual daily toil and attention, may very well be called a capitalist.

He eats his bread in the sweat of his capital or other men's faces: he will, ten to one, feel interested in continuing the conditions that enable him to do it. A certain class of much less means out of debt with a little bank account raise their empty heads to lofty heights and say "we capitalists," must all stand together. Especially is this true of the class who hang upon the bounty of the usurers about cities, and a class who have a competence for the present in the rural districts. They seem utterly unconscious, that like tame sheep, they lick the hand that smites them; the hand that can and does depreciate their property and that of the class to which they belong and annually reduce them to straighter and narrower limits of dependence and crowds them closer and closer to the ragged edge of insolvency.

Every owner of less than twenty-five thousand dollar's worth of property if not in money loaned at usury is in the true sense a laboring man and his interests are identified from interest if no higher motive with the laboring class.

Nothing will carry conviction to the minds of a certain class of citizens but to see the value of their property shrink year by year and in spite of their toil, slip away from under their feet like April snow and feel the flutter of the rags of poverty in the cold winds of insolvency and bankruptcy. Then they begin to realize that all the conditions by means of class laws and usages set away from labor, from honest toil, like wind and tide, and set toward capital and the usurer to flot all labors reward to him. The line of insolvency, rags and poverty rises higher and higher and annually covers more heads: the argument is making converts day by day; the cancer is curing itself or is bringing about the conditions that will do it. The contest is one between classes drawn on the line of wealth. The capitalistic garrison is greatly in minority as to number of men, but vastly in majority in number of dollars and growing more so every day; it is a contest between men and money, and every three to six thousand dollars of money or capital earns more income than an able-bodied man laboring 300 days in the year. But the minority

garrison are entrenched in a fortress of class laws and priviliges many centuries old. They are organized, they never "strike" at each other. In nine cases out of ten, when laboring men "strike" at an immediate employer, they strike at an interest and a man on the same side the capitalistic fortifications as themselves; against men and interests that are suffering under the same causes as themselves; suffering because "capital" "earnings" eats up all their profits. And the same of the boycot. There may be exceptions, but that is the rule. Suppose you demand and strike for ten per cent. advance in wages, and gain it; and it is actually a concession, for the time, by aggregated capital. What have you gained? Incorporate capital, as now organized, and controling the transportation and money of the country, can, by raising the "reasonable charges," of freights, by "controling the volume of the currency, the money," and consequent fall in wages, and driving men out of employment, cause them to compete with you for your places at a reduction, it may be, of twenty per cent. in your wages in six months.

Your "strikes" and "boycots," if for the time successful, do not abate a tithe of the strength of the class privileges and laws that are grinding you, as it were, between the upper and the nether millstones.

Such "strikes" are like a man in an iron cage, striking at the guard outside; if he injured or killed him all of it would be, another put in his place; he is only doing his duty for a living, and all he need do to ward off the blow, is to step back out of reach of the "striker" until he tires himself out. These "strikes" are like a gun that voids its breach at every fire; it kills more men behind than before it.

But you say, What shall we do? Strike for *political organization!* Strike for a full freeman's vote at the polls, and a fair count! Strike at the polls; strike at the class laws and privileges that bind you; strike at the tools of incorporate greed that heretofore have "rounded you up" to the polls to vote against your interests. Eight years of such a strike will bring a second Yorktown, only it will be a bloodless field.

History shows the class of men with whom you are compelled to contend are very careful to see that in their cause "their blood flows" on in their veins;—they do not choose to see their thick blue blood wasted on the ground. If they cannot hire one half the "plebians" to slaughter the other half, while they crawl in their holes with their gold and pull in the hole after them, and when the "rich man's war and the poor man's fight is over, crawl out and come with the *vultures* to rob the widows and orphans, it is always a bloodless field.

The Senator Sharon, the Henry Ward Beecher, the Joseph Cook class of gentry, and many others who might be named, who have already threatened us with "the fiercest of civil wars," are brave as Falstaff in "coming on" the platform before an audience

of women and *pious* usurers who cheer them to the echo; but "marry coming on" to the "civil war" he threatened "he has the cramp;" in fact he is not very well himself; he does not feel half so war like as his *pious* indignation would indicate, when he was "shoulder to shoulder" with the greedy, cowardly crew who cheered him. He is willing to "sacrifice all his wife's relations on the altar of his country;" yes, draft the poor devils who work for a dollar a day and bread and water for dinner, and water and bread for breakfast, and water and bread for supper, to fill the ranks. As for us we will stay at home and "scrape lint," with the women while they fight—we will sing psalms and thank God for the victories. And when the war is over we will see that our class are all pensioned with bonds and perpetual debts, bank and railroad special class legislation, and prate for forty years how "we saved the country."

Laboring men of America and Europe, that is the figure you have cut in the wars of this country and Europe of late. It seems to be about time you cease to be a like herd of cattle rounded up, to vote or fight not for but actually against your interests. For out of each you come with the yoke of "wage slavery" more closely fitted to your necks, as a class. If we are to have any more of it, we suggest to reverse the order once. Let us see how a "poor man's war and a rich man's fight" would seem. It would be a bloodless field; one "one laboring man" could bury all the dead in an hour. It would be a field strewn with bottles, cigar boxes, cards, crinoline and false hair of mistresses and empty cans. That field would look better than one strewn with the stark, stiff forms of poor fellows who died to preserve the flag and country for a future for capitalistic tyrants?

The class who oppress you are the very class who marshal you out upon the hills to manure the fields with your flesh and blood. Let laboring men of the world's republic set the world an example, strike for your rights at the poles within the constitution and the forms of law. Stand up and strike for your rights, shoulder to shoulder as citizens. Raise the Banner, "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you." We demand no more, we will accept no less? Strike at the poles for your hearth-stones,

"Strike for your altars and your fires,
Strike for the green graves of your sires,
God and your native land."

Incorporate capitalistic greed organizes against you one and all, —organize against it. To do this your platform must be broad and charitable enough to make room for every man who honestly seeks to make a living by "the sweat of his face." Millions of them are property owners; if so and they use their property right they and you are the stronger. But no fraction or class of our society can obtain any relief for itself or any one else.

It will take a great civil uprising and upheaval in the use of the ballot box and the forms of law, to beat down the fortresses of class law and capitalistic greed.

It can never be done by factious demagogues who roar to-day and to-morrow are silenced with a bone and crust for private needs. It must be a calm, deliberate, dignified, persistent purpose of a life time if need be.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Supply and Demand—Over Production.

Supply is the entry, demand is the egress door to the market. If products of labor carried in at one, are not paid for and carried out at the other, the market becomes too full, and we are told there is an "over production;" and the producer at one and the consumer at the other end of the line suffer. The market is the half-way station between them; here the barter or exchange of products is made.

Soon as the producer, who depends on his product for a living can no longer have market and sale for his product, he ceases per force of circumstances to be a consumer. This very common and growing complaint of labor of late is explained by the class who rob it of its just reward with the high sounding term of "Over Production." That is to say, if it means anything, that after God and nature have blessed labor, with the reward of plenty and to spare at the half way station in the "sweat-house" of the market its product has turned to an offense and yields no return to him who had more or who has less than his needs and in separation they suffer. That is the meaning of the doctrine; they want you to take their word for it.

When you read it in their speeches and papers you must take it as the ox does his master's voice.

As a fact, in this country we know the farmers of the west often burn corn to keep from freezing while the miners of the east would fain eat coal to keep from starving. That you see is an "over-production" of corn and coal. It takes four bushels of corn to freight one from the producer to the consumer.

In nine out of ten instances every "over production" will be found to come from some such causes.

Yes, do not charge your distress to a just God and his providences; look to the conspiring classes who thus would destroy your faith in God and man, so they may isolate, insulate and rob you. It comes from the machinations of short-sighted private greed in using and abusing the means to accomplish the great fact of the nation's commerce, the transportation and the money of the country. It comes of government abdication of its rightful control of these branches of the public service. It comes of the "earnings," of capital that earns more than labor and robs it of its just reward.

From the moment the product leaves the hand of the producer,

yes, and before it is besieged all along the line in turn, by the carrier and the usurer for "my income" until before it reaches the consumer, it is eaten up perhaps among them and then they call it "over-production."

Thus labor famishes in the land and in sight of plenty, while the usurer, the common carrier, the speculator on the Board of Trade, the Life and Fire Insurance Company classes the class as a whole, who "raise nothing in the country but hell," gamble for its reward. And when nothing goes or comes to it they call it an "over production."

If labor lives through the drouth, the flood, the chicken and hog cholera, the murrain, the grasshoppers, then comes the corners" on the market more dire than all; then comes the usurer and demands his "income" no matter of whom it "comes out," then the common carrier. And on Sabbath if he chooses, he may hear a "sweet singer" of the usurers in a church ornamented with a mortgage with a "paid up policy" on his life, a through first-class excursion ticket for the "heated season" to the Garden of the Gods in his pocket, with his pews well filled or owned by usurers, distillers, brewers, bankers, insurance and railroad corporation officers, saloon and bawdy house landlords, "thank God we are not as other men." Over production, yes in these lines of human endeavor to get something for nothing. Over consumption here, under consumption everywhere else; over-surfeit here, underfeeding and living among those who produce that on which they surfeit.

CHAPTER XIX.

Taxation and License.

A tax is a "contribution imposed by the government, upon the individual for the service of the State" The constitution of the U. S. declares all such burdens shall be according to value and uniform.

When the citizen becomes a party to the social compact and cedes to society the right, and it accepts the obligation of protecting his person and property, he imposes on himself the obligation to give it material support with his means. All of us have persons, —some more, some less, some no property—to be protected. As to property, reason and the constitution say that when nothing is given, nothing shall be required.

What, then, are the legitimate subjects of taxation? (1). Is the "poll" the head or person one of them? Society has no right to tax a citizen for a possession or right it does not confer or protect. Nor does it have a right to tax a citizen for the protection of rights of such nature that every human being must, and does receive the

very same kind and degree of protection; for instance, such as the protection of person. This we must, and all do have in common, without regard to place, circumstances, state or possessions. A tax *levied* for the protection of such a right, is as illogical as it would be to put a tax of one dollar on each human being when born; or to attempt to assist the citizens by a payment of a sum of $100 or any other sum to the legal representatives of every person when he died, the sum to be raised as a tax. It is seen at a glance in any and all such instances, that neither society or the citizen is benefited, but both actually are burdened and injured by it, to the extent of the labor and cost of levying, collecting and paying *out* the tax. In support of the person or poll tax, it may be said that society assists to the end, by its regulations in regard to marriage and divorce, that a person shall be well born; that is not born out of wedlock or the offspring of prostitution, incest or miscegenation, and free from the infirmities of body and mind they entail On the other hand, it may be said, these regulations are mere acts of self preservation on the part of the race, like the acts of ship-wrecked passengers and crew, pumping to keep afloat and for mutual preservation. And no legal obligation for such service so rendered ever arises in favor of one person against another when mutual preservation of *being* was the common object. But as to *property just such* obligation *does* arise in favor of the one who at severe service or great peril saves another's property. It is administered in sea faring operations, and is called "salvage." But it extends only to property. And if an individual cannot by such services put another under obligations to him, neither can they do it collectively, or as society, and we conclude that the "poll" or head tax, set on a man's being is illogical, illegal and unjust.

And another fact to be remembered is, the *poll* tax is *never levied* for that purpose—the *protection* of the person *by law*, but always for *road* and *street* purposes

(2) Ought the home and homestead furnishings and utensils be exempt from taxation? Society does not confer any natural rights on the citizen if it does protect us in the enjoyment of them.

It does not confer on us land, air, light, water or the relation of husband and wife, or parents and children; but it is its duty to protect us in the enjoyment of all these rights. Every human being has the natural right to living and subsisting room on the surface of the earth; that is to make and maintain a home upon it; it is as perfect a right and as natural an one as the right of marriage, for the purpose of the propagation of the race. And to deny the former, in effect defeats the object of the latter. They are both natural rights, —not confered by society; but they are of such nature that all human beings must from the nature of the case, enjoy them to the same extent, to the end that society may exist.

Man is entitled to a home on the surface of the earth, in a savage state and usually gets it; society does not confer the right of

the family and home of the citizen and since it is right all must or ought to have and enjoy equally, we conclude that the homestead as such to a minimum extent and value ought to be in law, and in justice is, exempt from taxation. It is just like a tax on the person or on any other right or privilege that all must enjoy for society to exist. It is exempt on the very same principle that public buildings and roads, parks and improvements are exempt. That is that they are for the common good, and one and all have a common and eqnal interest in them. Hence it is illogical and a work of superogation to tax one common interest to fill the coffers to support another one.

And outside the reason and justice of the thing, it is a measure of public policy and economy to encourage and protect the building and sustaining of the homes; tends to common and public thrift, morality and the prevention of pauperism and crime. The dictates of justice, morality and humanity never part company along this line.

(3) What then are the proper subjects of taxation? And we answer all those rights, privileges and sources of income that are both conferred and conserved by society. All the property above the homestead exemptions and the learned and professional occupations, and the writer is a lawyer. My profession would not be in existence or lucrative but for society I choose it before all others; it is no more than just that a reasonable tax be assessed upon it to help support society, the entity that creates the conditions that makes the profession possible and lucrative, and so of others. And all property and property rights above the homestead are the children of societary conditions and protection and make it bear the weight of the burdens of its mother society. The more a man has the more taxes he should pay and the easier it is for him to do it, even at a higher rate. And put on the "income tax" in an increasing ratio to keep pace with the increase of the "income."

If capital as such were not permitted to have accretion and increase the "income tax" would be unjust. But since it does, the income tax does not do half justice. Look a moment at the present unjust assumptions of capital! The owner of $100,000 demands income annually on it of at least five per cent. or $5,000; the sweat of his capital earns that. A common laborer with a family at $3.00 per day and no sickness and working 300 days in the year cannot possibly lay by to exceed $300. And the $5.000 income of the capitalist that comes right out of labor's annual earnings and productions can come from nowhere else, eats up the $300 income of 166 of these laborers.

But he and his class demand and enact laws to tax the laborer's home if he has any, or to keep him from ever getting one if he has not, by taxing the one rented to him, and that the landlord adds to his rent; and then in addition to all levies a "poll-tax" of one to three dollars to build roads round and through the possessions of himself and class. And all that after every cent of the income of

the 166 men has been eaten up by $5,000 income of the capitalist. He calls it a potency, a personage as capable of earning and claims it does earn more than the 166 laborers and demands income on it for its sweat; make him, make all those assumptions good to the assessor as well. He is at an unconscionable advantage over the laborer, even if his capital as such in usury and rents did not earn a cent. Put the income tax on him and the learned professions and let the little homes of God's poor go free

Of course the owners of homes must pay the expenses of making and recording surveys and transfer of the title, but no other tax as such ought to be put on them.

Akin to taxation is the subject of licensing. Society has no right to tax any primitive industry, such as agriculture, building habitations, preparing food, clothing or utensils; or any calling that teaches the young and imparts general information to the end that each succeeding generation shall know more of all its duties and relations, moral, social and political than its predecessor did.

But it is also made a cover and a pretence to compromise with and lend the sanction of the law to occupations that are actual crimes against society, such as prostitution and the liquor traffic. Some of our good citizens we expect are not aware that prostitution as such has been actually licensed in some of our great cities. It was done in St. Louis in the year 187 and was maintained.

Women were charged a license fee and registered as such; and charged a fee to pay a scab of society called for euphony a "doctor" to make stated rounds to the "houses" to examine the inmates and if entitled give them certificates of bodily health, if not order them to the hospital for treatment until restored and then she might have another certificate. The moral sentiment of the State revolted and kicked the hell born crew of "madams," "doctors" and the rest, at least out of legal toleration and recognition. But it still gives legal toleration and recognition to the ante-chamber, the vestibule, the lower floor of the bawdy house, its twin sister, the dramshop. And the cities of the United States are full of establishments, dramshops on the first and bawdy houses on the second floor.

And pious (?) deacons and usurers collect the rents with marked stated punctuality on Saturday night and go to church on Sunday and "thank God they are not as other men"

The laboring men and women of this country must understand that the usurer, the rent racker and the liquor traffic make common cause against them all along the line.

They well understand the alliance all the time and act on it even if you do not. John Sherman, the Judas of the people's cause, had the impudence to introduce into the "Rump Corporation and Millionaire's Parliament" the United States Senate, a bill providing that the national bankers might loan money to the owners of bonded whiskey to enable them to pay their United States taxes on it, and then permit the banks to roll the whiskey in their cellars or other safe place and deposit it in lieu of U. S. Bonds as

the law now is, as basis to secure their issues of bank notes.

That is, bottom the currency and business of the country on a sea of alcohol. This old reprobate has fought for twenty years to destroy the $340,000,000 of legal tender notes bottomed on the honor, patriotism and property of the great American people, but was willing to do that to join in unholy wedlock these two enemies of society, the usurer and the traffic, and then thought they surely would make him president.

The Supreme Court of Missouri says of the license paid by the dramshop keeper, "the license fee exacted by the general law regulating dramshops and the act amendatory thereof is not a tax within the meaning of sections 1 and 3 of Art. 10 of the Constitution, but is a price paid for the privilege of doing a thing, the doing of which the legislature has a right to prohibit altogether.

Such laws are regarded as police regulations, established by the legislature for the prevention of intemperance, pauperism and crime and the abatement of nuisances;" and are not regarded as an exercise of the taxing power. "Pursuits that are pernicious or detrimental to public morals may be prohibited altogether or licensed for a compensation to the public." * * It does not follow because the license fee is large, or because it may become a part of the public revenue that it is therefore a tax. Many fines, penalties and forfeitures become a part of the public revenue of the State that are not derived from taxation." State vs Hudson, 78 Mo. 304 That is, it is a compromise with a species of crime against society that "spreads intemperance, pauperism and crime," "a price paid for the privilege of doing it;" a transaction in which society or the govment says, you may do it if you will divide blood money with us. And when the dramshop keeper or his sattellite, the ward or county shyster asks laboring men to petition the authorities to grant a license for a saloon, they ask them to levy a special tax on themselves to pay the taxes of the saloon and bawdy house landlords and other property owners.

If it is granted the keeper pays the license fee into the treasury as so much tax, say $1,000 per year—he now is out that, he must have a barkeeper at $600 per year, and at the lowest figure he must make $2,000 for income and to keep up expenses, that is he must have at least $3,600 per annum, and he levies this sum on his patrons.

Who are they as a rule? You know laboring men, your wives and children know too well. It is you on whom he levies and off whom he collects as a class every cent of it; and you stand up at his bar and pay it. For what as a rule? The vilest decoctions of goat's horns, old shoe soles, tobacco stems and fusil oil that ever burned and rotted the coats of a human stomach. And you pay the regulation 5 or 10 cents every time you drink. Suppose while you are drinking and paying, mayor, mugwump aldermen, mug, grog and magog and Col. Pod Auger and Shyster Buzfuz, fanning their red, bloated faces, march in. Mr Dramshop Keeper is wreathed in

smiles down to his apron; he snatches your money and shabs you out, he beckons the late arrivals back to the coolest and cosiest corner in the concern, and does he offer them the vile stuff that tortured your parched gullet? No, indeed, they would scorn it. He draws out the special decanter with a fine article and fans the flies off of them while they suck it iced through a straw. And they in return make arrangements then and there to lower or renew his license and to "round up the voting cattle" at the next election to vote for their old masters, the usurers, the saloon, the bawdy house landlords and the liquor traffic. And you men pay the bills for the ice, the fine wines, the straws, the fine cigars, the rents, the usury, in short for the whole establishment And on Sunday you walk out to the park or other public resort with your wife in faded calico, your children barefoot and there is Madam Saloon Keeper making faces at you, rustling in silk, stinking in pomade, and her children dressed in the height of fashion, paid for with your money as a class. Don't you think you ought to rush up or be lead up to sign the petition of Jake Sniggle, Fritz or Patrick O'Toole, for a license? No, in the name of God, Home and Native Land, men, be men, boycott the saloon, let it severely alone. Let Col. Pod Auger and his gang pay their own bills and do their own voting.

The liquor traffic is one of the vilest monopolies in the civilization of to-day.

Along with the rest it annualiy eats up labor's reward and the saloon is the headquarters, the recruiting office politically of the whole brood, who feast like crows and buzzards upon you. Boycott it men, in the name of your wives and children, sisters and sweethearts, in the name of your manhood. And the license, high or low, is a covenant with hell; every one issued ought to be, in the sight of a just God it is written in blood and tears. It stains the stars and stripes just as much as slavery did. Shame on the national statutes, revenue and license laws that will say to a man who makes oath in the state of Iowa or Kansas or in the Local Option counties in Missouri, that he "intends to sell intoxicating liquors" at such or such a place in their boundaries and in violation of their laws. Shame, I say upon a national government that will say to such an insurgent law breaker and traitor to his state and its laws; I know you intend to violate the laws of your state; but divide before you commence; give me a pittance of the fruit of your law breaking, your blood money, your "spreading intemperance, pauperism and crime," and you have my permission to go in with your state in a free fight, and spread all of these evils you choose. That is the attitude to-day of the U. S. license and revenue law to the prohibition states and counties.—Shame upon it, it is akin to and black as ever were the blood hound slave refugee acts that disgraced our statutes in slave times.

CHAPTER XX.

TO THE CLERGY.

You will pardon the presumption, but you may learn something from a layman, as they may learn much from you. Your influence is great in a government composed as ours. You may not intend to "preach politics," but if you "declare the whole council of God," as taught in the new testament you are compelled to deal with and discuss great moral questions that enter into the great political issues of the times.

Politics in a true sense is one thing, "party" is another; with party as such in the pulpit you have nothing to do. With the great moral questions that affect the moral and material welfare of society and and that may or may not enter the "party" strifes of the day, you do. Such was chattel slavery; such is polygamy, the law of divorce, and wage slavery in all its features. For wage slavery is injurious to both the oppressor and the oppressed, as was chattel slavery.

In some instances civil and municipal law have directly in both letter and spirit repealed the law of both the old and new testament. I shall here call your attention to but two. One in the matter of divorce; there is but one cause for divorce according to the Christian rule, and either party who marries after divorce for any other commits adultery. Yet nearly all the states have numerous other "causes," and comparatively the pulpit is silent. Under the old testament law, given for the the government, of the "chosen people," a Jew was not permitted, to take usury or interest from a Jew, but might from a stranger. Christ said, "I come not to destroy the law or the prophets but to fulfill." Peter, Paul and the rest say, there is "no more Jew or gentile and we are all one in Christ."

If the privilege of the Jew over the "stranger" or Gentiles, of eating up his substance and that of his class by usury yet remains to any, will you please inform us, who are the Jews now? to whom this privilege belongs? The truth is, here is another instance when first custom invaded the law of Christ and the innovation was enacted into law. The Christian church stood stoutly committed against it, until the sixteenth century. John Calvin was the first Christian minister or priest who ever undertook to justify its practice. Its practice by the Jews in Europe caused them time and again to be driven from one country to another.

In these persecutions undoubtedly there was much of human cupidity, as well as religious belief. For then, as now, the practice of it, slowly, but surely, as surely as the duration of time, gathered the greater share of wealth of the products of the labor of the community into the hands of the usurers. And when this abuse not only antagonized their religious belief, but actually reduced them to poverty and suffering, the earlier Christians, as bodies, arose and

ejected the leeches and drones of their hives, of society, with little or no regard to public form or law or private rights.

And unless the encroachments of the usurers are checked by law, by civil and peaceable means, history will repeat itself. And next time it will take the shape of open hostility to the Christian church, as the French Revolution did; unless the church takes her proper place and breaks the apparrent truce and in many cases real league with the usurers. I respectfully call your attention to the following old testament Scripture on the subject:

USURY, INTEREST, INCREASE.

Text: Nehemiah, 5th chapter, 6th to 13th verse.

And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words.

Then I consulted with myself, and I rebuked the nobles, and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I set a great assembly against them.

And I said unto them, We after our ability, have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and will ye even sell your brethren? or shall they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace and had nothing to answer.

Also I said, It is not good that ye do; ought ye not walk in the fear of our God because of the reproach of the heathen our enemies?

I likewise, and my brethren, and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you, let us leave off this usury.

Restore, I pray you, unto them, even on this day, their lands, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them.

Then said they, we will restore them and will require nothing of them; so we will do as thou sayest. Then I called the priests, and took an oath of them, that they should do according to this promise.

Also I took my lap, and said, so God shakes out every man from his lap, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out, and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised the Lord, And the people did according to this promise.

If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him a usurer; neither shalt thou lay upon him usury—Exodus, 22nd chapter, and 25th verse. And again.

If thy brother be waxed poor and fallen into decay with thee, thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger or sojourner; that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him or increase; but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money on usury nor lend thy victuals for increase. Ye shall not, therefore, oppress one another, but thou shalt fear the Lord thy God: for I am the Lord thy God.—Leviticus. 25, 36, 37 and 17. Again it is said.

In thee have they taken gifts to shed blood. Thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbor

by extortion, and hast forgotten me saith the Lord thy God.—Ezekiel 22nd chapter, and 12th verse.

Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usary of victuals, usury of anything lent upon usury.—Deuteronomy, 23rd ch., 19th v.

He that by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance, he shall gather it for him that will pity the poor.—Prov. 28th ch.. and 8th v.

While it is said that a good man leaveth an inheritance to his children, it is also said that the wealth of a sinner is laid up for the just.—Prov. 13th and 22nd.

For he that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver, nor he that loveth abundance with increase.—Ecclesiastics 5th and 10th.

It is also said of the good man, that he putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh a reward against the innocent.—Psalms, 15th and 5th.

Her princes in the midst thereof, are like wolves ravening the prey to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain.

And her prophets have daubed them with untempered morter, seeing vanity and divining lies unto them, saying: Thus saith the Lord God when the Lord hath not spoken. The people of the land have used oppression and exercised robbery, and have vexed the poor and needy; yea, have oppressed the stranger wrongfully, and I souggt for the man among them that should make up the hedge and stand in the gap before me for the land that I should not destroy it; but I found none. Therefore I have poured out my indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath; their own way I recompensed upon their heads saith the Lord God.—Ezekiel 22nd ch., 27, 28, 29, 30th verses.

This is strong language, but it is not mine. It is the language of righteous indignation at the oppression that always in all ages and conditions of men follow this practice. Have you declared the whole truth on this subject? This is the old testament. Read the new.—The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached and every man presseth into it. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than it is for one tittle of the law to fail. —Luke, verses 15 and 17, chapter XVI.

"And Jesus looked around about and saith to his desciples, how hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of God." "And the desciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and saith unto them, children how hard it is for them that trust in riches to enter the kingdom of God."

"It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."—Mark, verses 23, 24, 25, Chapter X. This young man of whom this was said whom "he loved" marked up higher on the standard of moral excellence than any man, "who by usury and unjust gain increaseth his substance "can do; for he had "kept the commandments from his youth up" including, "Defraud not."

"Think not I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfill."

"For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass one jot or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." —Verses 17, 18, Mathew, Chapter V.

"Then shall the king say unto them on his right hand, come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." "For I was an hungered and you gave me meat: I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in." "Naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me." "Then shall they answer him saying, Lord when saw we thee an hungered and fed thee or thirsty and gave the drink?" "When saw we thee a stranger and took thee in or naked and clothed thee?" &c.

"And the king shall answer and say unto them, verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye did it unto me." "Then shall he say unto them on the left hand depart from me?' "For I was ahungered and ye gave me no meat?"

"Then shall they also answer saying Lord when saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stanger or naked, or in prison and did not minister unto thee?" "And then shall he answer them saying verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it unto me."—Verses 34-45 inclusive, Mathew, Chapter XXV. He makes a personal matter of it and no mistake.

He felt the indignity and insult of the enforced poverty of his class in his time; more than once refers to it.

"Beware of the Scribes which desire to walk in long robes and love greetings in the markets and the highest seats in the synagogues and the chief rooms at feasts." "Which devour widow's houses and for a show make long prayers: the same shall receive greater damnation."—Verses 46-47, Luke, Chapter XX. "The foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." "And he said woe unto you also ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers." —Luke, verses 46, Chapter 11.

"Then said he unto the desciples, it is impossible but that offenses will come; but woe unto him through whom they come!" "It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones."—Verses 1 and 2, Luke, Chapter XVII. There is but one letter and spirit in it all the way.

He took these matters of every day living and doing home to himself and daily and hourly enforced them by precept and example upon his disciples. A true Christian minister can do no less.

He cannot stuff himself with all the good things afforded by a modern market and a $10,000 a year salary, yes and less, all the week, and on Sunday stand up in a rich church in which the usurers

and oppresors of the people, men who "lay burdens grievous to be borne on other men's shoulders" devourers of widow's houses, loll at ease, who divide their extortions with him and preach them and himself to ease is Zion" and still claim to be a minister of Christ. For just such priests and ministers Christ denounced to their faces when he was here as "whited sepulchers, full of dead men's bones." Just such priests and ministers sought to put him to death, but said "not on a feast day lest there be an uproar of the people." The United States and Europe have each more than a complement of such ministers. You do not need be named any more than Christ need name them in his day; they knew and you know very well who is meant and who you are.

"You are known and read of all men." I will give you a state, an open secret, if will you receive it. The masses of the public are not half so ignorant as you think.

They have long since put you right where you belong, as the open allies of injustice, oppression and fraud, of "devourers of widow's houses." They class you politically right where the "third estate" the people of France classed their "clergy" on and prior to 1789. The people soon learn who are their friends; they do not want a class or a clergy to tell them how to save their souls in the next world who give aid and comfort and conspire with a class to rob them of the means whereby they live in this. We are glad to believe this class of clergy are greatly in minority in this country: we are glad to know many have began to seize the situation and teach the real Christian doctrine on these subjects. Many of the clergy and their churches seem oblivious of how they are regarded; they do not seem to know they are now classed as and called "close corporations." "By their fruits ye shall know them." and men soon classify men and classes of men and influences by their "fruits." If you would but open your eyes you might see them turn their backs on such "clergy" and their churches. When the feelings and sentiments of a class of clergy and churches becomes such it draws the lines of division on the money or the wealth line it leaves the masses of common people and Christ on the outside. You may say this is strong language—it is but not half so strong or plain as the following: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you." "Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth eaten."

"Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasures together for the last days." "Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."—Verses 1 and 4 inclusive, James, Chapter V. And the voice of a prima donna in a $100,000 church with a $50,000 mortgage on it, seconded by a $20,000 organ and a $15,000 choir and, a sweet bit of a preacher with his hair parted in the middle and the most approved English

accent (aw) will not drown out that cry from the ears of the "Lord of Sabaoth."

It is well to preach Christ as the "Lamb of God" and as a sacrifice, but he has also another just as well defined character as the "Lyon of the tribe of Judah" and the avenger of his people's wrongs. Such a clergy united with the Nobility of France, when they and the king owned three-fifths of the land and three-fourths of the wealth, to put "burdens on the people's shoulders grievous to be borne," all the burdens of the State.

And held them down under it until they were driven into the wild excess of the Revolution, Reign of Terror and Infidelity. And those wild and bloody scenes are now put by an intelligent and discerning public, right at the doors of an apostate, greedy, cruel clergy, dissolute nobility and ignorant and brutal monarchy.

No wonder the masses of the people became infidel: no wonder that in their rags and poverty as they beheld the revels and debauchery of the clergy and nobility whose motto was "after us the deluge," they said, if this is the fruit of centuries of Christianlty, come on—let us beat in the doors and windows of the churches, scatter the clergy and beat the altars into the earth. No wonder they repealed the Christian Sabbath and put up over the entrances to the cemeteries, "death is an eternal sleep." The clergy and nobility had for centuries repealed and trampled the law and spirit of Christ of "do to others as ye would that they should do to you" under their feet, had baptized the land in blood and violence of St. Bartholomews and persecutions; no wonder the laity, the masses said the whole thing is a farce and we will away with it. It ill becomes a Christian minister to denounce Voltaire, Rossean, Turgot and La Harpe, the Encyclopedists, and others as the morally guilty agents for all those scenes and doings. I suppose thousands like myself who have learned all they at first knew of these great civil commotions from a distorted, untruthful and anglicised presentations of it will be compelled to do as I have done, unlearn nearly all thus learned and then learn the truth.

But a truthful history and statement of those awful scenes, in spite of the anglicised, religious and secular history and press, in justice to the great French people, is at last reaching the American people.

And although a certain class of clergy and theological students seem to know no better than to attempt to throw *all* those bloody and terrible scenes and doings upon and at the doors of infidelity, as such, yet all other informed people will lay these ghastly *scenes* and *infidelity* both at the door of an apostate, greedy clergy, a brutal monarchy and nobility, who for centuries had "sown to the wind" and in the cyclone of the Revolution "reaped the whirlwind."

The "Encyclopaedists" of France taught and preached Christ's gospel of temporal salvation, "do unto others as you would that they should do to you," in a very modified sense; they conceded too much to the clergy and nobility; but taught the people to rise

and reclaim some of their natural and political rights. The clergy ignored this part of Christ's gospel and pretended to teach and preach "eternal salvation;" and in fact did neither. The "Encyclopædists, Rosseau, Voltaire and others, as a class, in their teachings and pratices came as near being Christians as the apostate and dissolute clergy, and they will always reach the hearts of the people, when such a clergy will not.

"The best way to reach a hungry man is to strike him on the stomach with a loaf of bread." No one knew this better than Christ, and for this and his natural human compassion, he would not send the famishing multitudes away hungry, "for many lived remote," and "lest they faint by the way," he fed them. It behooves an intelligent, patriotic, American clergy, in this day, in this exigency of our country to see to it that christianity and the the church do not stand before the people as in league with their adversaries.—To study and learn and declare the real cause of the Great French Revolution. For, to it we may look as the workings of some of the political elements that now are at unrest among us. True, the French people were then far behind us in general intelligence, and especially in lessons of self-government. But it was a civil commotion; a rebellion of an insulted, robbed, terrorized class by two classes of tyrants who stood one on one side and the other on the other, of the monarchy.

It was a war of classes all in France. The people were attempting to follow the path then so lately blazed out and trodden by Washington and the Revolutionary Fathers. They had to contend with our enemy, England, and have been compelled to do it *ever since*, as the old political Jesuit and libeler of and intriguer against all good faith effort to establish republican representative *self-government* in the world.

She has industriously and incessantly stirred up strife and commotion at home in Europe against all their efforts in that direction and *slandered* them *abroad*. When I speak of England in this sense, I mean the government and the governing class,—the class who so far controls her civil foreign policies and political career.

The class who, clergy and laity, teach the anglicised perpetual debt, wage slavery system of established church anity. The class who will "protect" and "establish" any clergy, church or religion that will pronounce the benediction while it steals the land from under the peoples' feet and *robs* them. We have (aw) quite a sprinkle of that class of clergy (aw) and gentry in our republican household.

In truth, until *recently*, that class have anglicised and to a great extent still do anglicise our literature, religious and secular. They stand as a unit, committted to the propagation of everything, English and aristocratic, that distinctly is not republican, and have sounded the key-note to the religious and political anathemas that have been hurled for years against the republicans of France, as infidels. If the American people would take a sober, second thought, they would remember that class of gentry and clergy who now (aw)

preach this "comforting doctrine," were chaplains in the royal and hessian regiments, "who thanked God for victories," when the Indian blood hounds murdered our fathers and ravished their wives and daughters on the frontiers. Who voted down Lord Chatham when he remonstrated with them. (See page 143). And then France and French republicans crowded into our armies to fight with us shoulder to shoulder, replenished our exhausted treasury, sent us arms and ammunition, received our ministers, with marked distinction, fitted and sent out a fleet to relieve our ravaged coasts. And they were at Yorktown, on our side of the entrenchment when that class of "gentry" and "clergy" sheathed their bloody blades under their cloaks, their bibles under their arms, and gnashing on the young republic, left, saying through their clenched teeth, "we will come again." And they *did* come in 1812-14 and burned our capitol like savages,—a piece of vandalism, the like of which Napoleon I. never was guilty.

Napoleon and France ceded us an empire for a trifle, on the Mississippi, with a benediction and God speed; this class of "gentry and "clergy" waged the unprovoked war of 1812-14 and burned our capitol; and in our late fratricidal war rejoiced in and bandied the sentiment, "the great bubble of American liberty has burst at last." And yet a class of American clergy never are done denouncing French republicans as infidels, for revolting and trying to follow in the foot steps of our fathers; and attempt to blacken their memories with all the wild excesses of those terrible times.

And strange coincidence that anglicised class, as a "class" stand allied with and as defenders of all the capitalsitic English measures now used in this country to rob labor of its *just reward*. A "pastorate" of that kind, when it has bloomed and fruited, if it ever does in the United States, will fill them as full of infidels as France ever was. Bartholdi's "Goddess of Liberty Enlightning the World," the embodiment of the sentiment and offering of republican Frenchmen to republican Americans, will have ten thousand tongues of eloquence and be heard ten times in the hearts of the people, when the yelping of "wolves in sheeps' clothing will not be heard once. It behooves those of you who minister among, and draw your support from the masses of the common people, to inform yourselevs and be equipped and ready to defend the interests of your class and its posterity in society. These encroachments of one class in society upon the rights and livings of another are mere tendencies at first; they come about, not in a day or a year, but in a series of years; they come as fall comes; first a mere change of hue in the foliage, a tendency to decay rather than life. In society, the small farms and holdings, where families used to live and grow to noble man and womanhood, commence to be absorbed into larger estates; the small homes and holdings melt away, sell out and are sold out under the mortgage, and the sons "go west, young man, to grow up with the country," or go out to rent a farm of Col. Podaugur, the usurer, who resides at the county seat, and is buying all the land joining him.

If you will lift up your eyes, yes and *open* them, you can see the sear and yellow leaf already giving the tinge and hue of autumn to the final prospect of your class in society. Your master was wont to talk very plainly on these subjects, as did his predecessors, the prophets, and successors, the apostles. The statistics of this country show that the ratio of the increase of its wealth, including increase in the value of real estate from improvement,—the most lucrative source,—has never been to exceed two and a half to three per cent. per annum.

The average of tax is at least one per cent. on *actual* value, so that the net increase in wealth per annum is not to exceed two per cent per annum. What is 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 per cent. per annum but "income" on capital? And the man who reaps it, reaps and gathers to himself the natural, the actual legitimate increase on the capital of three or four or five other men, in turn, as investors of the capital he has "loaned" to them, and "he toils not, neither does he spin." Now look at (1), a perpetual public debt, virtually so intended by our anglicised usurers, lay and clergy to be; (2), Our state, municipal and private indebtedness—five to twenty dollars deep to the acre in the middle and western states; (3), $340,000,000 of perpetual usury drawing bank currency based on a perpetual public debt; (4), $3,882,966,330 as the "funded railroad indebtedness" of the country; (5), the means used to levy usury by by private indebtedness and other means on the people; (6), the public domain and lands of the republic so distributed that one man "owns" a million, and a million men own no acre; and all the usuers, with the certainty of death, taxes and the duration of time demanding "my per cent" on "watered stock," "my income" my living out of the annual reward of labor and taking it according to law whether labor has left much, little or any. You may see, you will see the sere and yellow leaf.

And now these conditions will very fast grow more and more aggravated. Because (1) the public domain is being fast filled and occupied; in fact little is now left for good faith poor men who want it for homes. (2.) Usury like a snow ball, is annually rolling the wealth of the country to itself; each year it has a greater, a geometrically increasing principal upon which to demand "income." Each $3,000 in money or capital "earns" demands and receives more of the annual reward of labor than an able-bodied man can earn.

Capital never has "sickness in the family," it knows no Sunday or holiday; it earns and grows while its owner sleeps; it literally is eating labor, its creator, out of house, home and country. I heard an intelligent man of Iowa say "I can stand in the door of my house where I have lived for thirty years and count thirty homes that in that time have been owned by respectable families in sight, that now are sold out under the mortgage and are gone and their homes pastured with cattle, or occupied by renters." Open your eyes and you may see the sere and yellow leaf as the exponent of the prospect of yourself and class.

CHAPTER XX.

Our Sitting Army.

Let us make an inventory of our sitting army as heretofore pointed out in these pages at annual cost of $300 per annum per man.

1. Our railroad funded debt stated by them at $3,882,966,330 at four per cent per annum, is $156,318,000—and supports an army of 491,000 men.

2. Our sitting army of insurance agents, attorneys and officers as shown ante page 155-9, is 250,000 men.

3. Our National Bank army as shown ante page 104 is 185,000 men.

4. Our census and assessment lists showed in 1884, 3,500 millionaires rated all the way from $1,000,000 to $200,000,000 each. It is safe to rate them at $3,000,000 each; at four per cent. they must each have $120,000 income annually; this will support a battallion of 400 men each; and for the entire 3,500 it is only an army of 1,400,000 men. We cannot now take an estimate of the mortgage plastered western, northern, southern and middle States But it is safe to say that they are plastered on an average three dollars deep to the acre; Kansas is ten now by actual figures and other States nearly as bad. At that rate at six per cent per annum each seventeen hundred acres of plastered land supports in addition to all its other burdens one man of the sitting army at the rate of $300 per annum. Now let us inventory our sitting army per annum.

1.	Our railroad army, - - - - - -	491,000
2.	Our Insurance army, - - - - -	250,000
3	Our Bank army, - - - - - - -	185,000
4.	Our Millionaires' army, - - - - -	1,400,000
	Total sitting army, - - - - -	2,326,000

Do not talk any more about your standing armies; it is your sitting armies that are eating you out of house, home and country; that makes you ragged and hungry, that eats all the profit off of every legitimate business. There is a little over two men of this grand sitting army of the republic to each twenty-five souls, that is of women, children and men for them to support and that they do support; each twenty-five souls must and do contribute a little over $600 each year to keep this grand army on its present footing or *sitting*.

Who are you working for? For the grand sitting army of the Republic! Who are you voting for? For the grand sitting army of the Republic! Certainly!

You can see one of them any day, the flag of distress floating from the gable end of his trousers, his toes beneath peep like an

acorn from its sheath, his hair waving from the top of his hat, shouting himself hoarse for the recruiting officers of the grand sitting armies as they preach to him the comforting doctrine of "overproduction."

These are no figures of speech, they are plain, cold, naked, hungry facts. And they will annually grow colder, more naked and hungry. Your votes, men of America, have quartered that army on you, not "in your houses," makes you serve it in your own house. Its headquarters are in Wall Street; its lieutenants and recruiting officers are the two great political parties and their leaders who have voted the class laws on our statute books that enable it to annually draw its supplies out of the annual reward of your labor. It means 48,000,000 "borrowers," "servants," serfs; 2,000,000 "lenders," "masters" and aristocrats, and it means it forever under the existing order of things.

APPENDIX.

An Act to Provide For Condemning Lands for Homesteads.

Sec. 1. Whereas, private persons and corporations have acquired and hold titles to vast tracts of land, and in view of our rapidly increasing population, many families are debarred of the natural and political right of acquiring lands on which to make homes, to the detriment of the moral and material welfare of society, and tending to increase pauperism; it has, in view of this, become the duty of the government to exercise its right of eminent domain in the interest of the public welfare, and it is the duty of the law making power to exercise its right of eminent domain to the end that all citizens, by reasonable endeavor may acquire land for actual occupation and use for homes. And it is therefore declared that lands of private persons and corporations, native and alien, not actually occupied by any family in good faith, as, and for a home may be condemned for homesteads for families, as and for a public use and benefit under the conditions and limitations of this chapter.

Sec. 2. The following lands may be condemned for homesteads for families, under the provisions of this chapter:

(1.) That have not already been condemned within five years prior to the time the condemnation is sought. (2). If in the limits of any incorporated town or city, that are not in actual use in good faith, for some wholesale or retail business or some shop or manufacturing establishment; or in any block in any such town or city where at the time it is sought, one half of it is so used and occupied. (3.) In towns and cities of less than ten thousand inhabitants, no more than two lots of 30 square rods, each shall be condemned in any case. In any and all other cities not to exceed one lot, and in all cases regard being had to the original plats, streets and alleys, and no fractions of lots to be made to the injury of any party. Provided that in cities of ten thousand or less inhabitants, the homestead of no owner shall be, by the provisions of this chapter, reduced to less than four such lots; or in any city to less than two such lots. Nor shall any lands dedicated to any public use, resorts for the public good, be so condemned, either in or outside the limits of such towns or cities. (4). Outside the limits of towns or cities and within a radius of one half mile, not to exceed 80 square rods shall be condemned; and outside that line, and within a radius of five miles, not to exceed five acres shall be condemned;

and outside that line not to exceed forty acres shall be condemned, only in the states admitted into the Union within the last twenty years, the amount may be condemned that is now permitted by the law of each such state to be held exempt from debts, as a homestead; or if it has no such law, then 160 acres; and in the territories, 160 acres of land.

And provided, that in no case land holdings of no owner shall be reduced to less than the maximum herein permitted to be condemned; and if lands of minors is sought to be condemned, their holdings must not be reduced to less than the limitation last aforesaid, for each one. But the title of all lands belonging to minors not cast by descent, must be shown to be their *actual* property, by good faith, absolute and recorded conveyance.

And provided, that the interests of mortgagees' rights in remainders and expectancy may be concluded by proceedings under this chapter so as to convey a good title for the purpose of this chapter on the petitioner.

Sec. 3. Any head of a family may file a petition in any court of the city or county, in which lands sought to be condemned are situate that has jurisdiction of the subject of land titles. It must state the name and last residence of the petitioner, the number of his or her family, the name, residence and post office address of the owner of the land sought to be condemned, if known; if not known, that fact must be stated.

It must particularly describe the land sought to be condemned, the interest of each and every owner, part owner, mortgagee, or otherparty interested therein and any other fact necessary to be shown to entitle the petitioner to have the lands condemned under the provisions of this chapter, and shall be verified by affidavit.

Sec. 4. On filing the petition the defendants shall be notified by summons or publication of the pendency of the proceeding according to the practice of the court, and upon return of service of such process if defendant make default the court shall be deemed to have jurisdiction of the cause as in a proceeding *in rem*. And the cause shall be returnable to and tried at the first term after it is filed unless continued for good cause shown.

If the defendant appears and denies the facts stated in the petition, the issue may be tried by a jury or the court, either party having the right to trial by a jury of twelve men. In case of default and proof the land sought to be condemned shall be appraised by three house and free-holders of the county or the territory in the jurisdiction of the court. If defendant appears and there is a trial the jury shall pass on the fact of and assess the damages for the condemnation if it finds all the other issues for the petitioner.

Sec. 5. If the lands sought and subject to be condemned are improved the owner may elect to and remove any or all of such improvements. But such election shall be made before the valuation if the defendant appears. Or if he do not appear he may so elect at any time in six months after the judgment of condemation is ren-

dered and before any of the money for it is received, but shall pay all costs of the re-valuation that may be required to be made by the three appraisers as in the first instance, but they shall value the improvements sought to be removed only.

Sec. 6. Any petitioner under the provisions of this chapter may, before the filing of his petition, tender to the owner of any lands subject to be condemned, such sum, in lawful money, as he thinks a reasonable compensation for such lands, or to his admitted agent, and allege and prove such tender and keep it up on the trial.

And if the defendant do not procure the allowance of a sum greater than that tendered, the petitioner shall recover all his costs, and such tender and all costs to that date may be made with like effect at any stage in the proceedings as to all costs that may thereafter accrue. In all other cases costs shall be paid by the petitioner.

Sec. 7.—Upon judgment of condemnation rendered and payment of the money due to the defendant or defendants in the proceedings or if the defendants do not appear then to the proper officer to be designated by the court and entered of record in the judgment, the petitioner shall be put into possession by appropriate writ to be issued for the purpose: *Provided* that appeals from such proceedings may be had byeither party to the proper courts as in other cases.

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